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METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1880.

ART. I.—BISHOP WILEY'S VISITATION OF CHINA AND JAPAN.

China and Japan: A Record of Observations made during a Residence of Several Years in China, and a Tour of Official Visitation to the Missions in both Countries in 1877–78. By Rev. I. W. WILEY, D.D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Illustrated. 12mo., pp. 548. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1879.

To one standing casually upon the ocean beach there seems to be only the same eternal roar, and wave after wave dashing apparently upon the same strand. But if that observer, in his childhood, knew some rock far beyond the reach of the stoutest surge, and now beholds it embraced by the ocean, he irresistibly draws the conclusion that the continent is yielding to the sea; and if such a process were known to be rapidly going on in every part of the earth, natural philosophers would not hesitate to express apprehensions that at some day, more or less distant, land would entirely disappear, and this globe become one vast sea.

When a great Church like the Methodist Episcopal is known to have been without a strictly foreign mission until thirty years ago, but has now its Conferences in all quarters of the globe, and its thousands of members and hundreds of preachers redeemed during that period from heathenism, and when it is known that like success has attended the missions of numerous other evangelical bodies, our faith rises to positive assurance that if the Church is faithful to her great commission

"the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

In the volume now under review, we have the testimony of an intelligent witness with respect to one of the most important missions of the world. He saw it first in 1851, and spent three years there faithfully discharging his duty as missionary physician of the Foochow Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, forsaking his post only when sickness and bereavement left him no ability to continue his work. He saw it again in the year 1877, when, as a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, he went to Foochow in the discharge of his episcopal duties. Nearly a year in all was occupied with this official visitation, and he, therefore, had rare opportunity for observations of a most careful kind. What of Methodism did this missionary leave in China in 1854? and what did this same missionary, worthily exalted to be a bishop, find on his return to China in 1878?

The entire China mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church at the departure of Dr. Wiley, in 1854, was in Nantai, and on Middle Island, both suburbs of Foochow. The great city itself had not so much as been entered. When Bishop Wiley revisited the mission, in 1878, the performance of his duties required him to skirt nearly the whole coast of China. He had to take in the capital of the empire, and extend his supervision to the farthest north, for the North China Mission had "some appointments as much as four hundred miles away from Peking, reaching up north to the great wall, and south into the province of Shantung." In the intervening space there were constant and faithful itinerations on the part of the missionaries, after the style of the fathers of American Methodism. To complete his visitation the Bishop had to sail five hundred miles up "the wonderful river Yang-tsze-Kiang to Kiukiang, in the province of Kiang-si, one of the largest and richest of the provinces of China," and go the length of the picturesque Po-Yang Lake for one hundred miles, with industrious millions lining its shores. The three districts that compose this Central China Mission extend we learn not how far westward, for the Bishop's time did not admit of prolonged or minute visitation. The old mission at Foochow had penetrated, as he says, within the walls of the imperial city, and well-nigh covered the

entire Fuhkien province. Well might the good Bishop exclaim as he stood in Peking:

> How great things has God wrought in so short a time! Twenty-five years before, my most sanguine dreams could not have reached the thought that in this brief time missionary stations would be established along the northern coast of China from the Yang-tsze to the head of the Gulf of Pi-chi-li, and that the ministers of Christ would be building chapels within the "Imperial City," and establishing schools within the shadow of the Imperial residence itself. But here it is, a realized fact; and from this great center the "glad tidings" are sounding forth through nearly all Northern China.

The increase of the area of the mission in twenty-five years is truly amazing. It has grown from a single point to cover more square miles to-day than are covered by England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland combined; and it is still growing as never before.

Not area alone, but every other feature of the mission, is expanded. In 1854 there was not a single Methodist Episcopal Church building in all China, nor any thing worthy to be called a chapel. We have not been able to learn from "China and Japan," or indeed from any other source, precisely the number of these now existing, but they are to be counted by scores, with parsonages, school-houses, hospitals, press-building, etc., aggregating in value more than one hundred thousand dollars.

When Dr. Wiley left China, in 1854, there was not in all the empire a single native member or minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Bishop Wiley found in 1878 three distinct missions, one of which he organized into an Annual Conference. There was a zealous membership of the Church of more than two thousand, and a gifted native ministry verging closely upon one hundred in number. The author's hope in publishing his work must be realized, and contrasts so striking must interest and encourage those who are really laboring for the regeneration of these peoples.

Progress is to be read in every line of this book. Here is a man who only twenty-five years before had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, traversed the Indian Ocean, and through weary months of voyaging at last reached the Pacific. Now, taking his seat in a railroad car, at the close of July, 1877, and passing over the continent, holding *en route* three Annual Confer-

ences, he arrives at San Francisco by September 1, ready to depart for China. A steamer was not ready till September 12, and yet on October 1 he was entering the harbor of Yokohama, in Japan. The Bishop marks the event as follows:

On the one side of us is a smoking volcano; on the other, the sublime Fuji-yama, an extinct volcano, a perfect cone, nearly thirteen thousand feet high, with its summit capped with snow, glistening in the sunbeams. It was one of the grandest sights I ever saw, and is the pride and glory of Japan. All along, on both sides of the bay, are strung the Japanese villages. At two o'clock we anchored in the bay of Yeddo, before Yokohama, a mixed city of foreign and Japanese life.

At San Francisco, before his departure, the Bishop had found what he justly terms "genuine missionary work" among the Chinese on our own coast, and gives a passing notice to the heroic Gibson and his Christly efforts. The house, the chapel, the school, the retreat for women, were all inspected, and the Bishop concludes that this mission to the Chinese in America is destined to triumph, and become an important element in the wise and just settlement of the vexed "Chinese question."

The Bishop's duties did not at this time detain him in Japan; hence in twenty-four hours he was off to Kobe, the port of Ozaka, the New York of Japan; thence through the Inland Sea, than which he thinks nothing on earth can be more beautiful. He says:

Our course lay among more than a thousand islands of every conceivable shape, some of them entirely bare, but most of them covered with the richest verdure, and nearly all cultivated and terraced to their very summits. All of them are mountainous, full of peaks and water-washed ravines. Towns and cities, some of them fortified, are seen hid away in every little bay. It has been like traveling through Fairy-land.

October 13 the steamer was at the mouth of the Woosung, in China, twelve miles from Shanghai. As she moved up the narrow and crooked river the changes that twenty-five years had wrought greatly impressed the Bishop. He says:

Then Shanghai was just becoming a port of foreign trade. A few inferior hongs and dwellings were stretched along the river, and the stream was literally crowded with native junks of all sizes and classes, with here and there only a sailing ship or two from foreign lands. Now every thing is changed. As we en-

tered the river we saw a huge fortification, into the construction of which foreign ideas and foreign skill had largely entered. A little farther up the river was an arsenal, where natives, instructed and guided by foreigners, are manufacturing all kinds of large and small fire-arms. Near it is a ship-yard, where the natives are manufacturing steam and sailing vessels and gun-boats. Two fine symmetrical gun-boats, built entirely by Chinese, were lying here at anchor. As we ascend the river I see but few of the old cumbersome junks, and notice that they have been displaced by steamships, many of them owned by the "Chinese Merchants' Steamship Company." The harbor now presents quite a foreign, instead of a Chinese appearance. Along the banks of the river were beautiful villas; and when we reached the city, instead of the few bungalows and hongs of twenty-five years ago, there was a magnificent foreign city, with some as fine buildings as the eye could wish to see. To be sure, beyond this foreign city there was the old native Shanghai, shut up within its walls, as immovable, as noisy, as dirty, as ever.

The ever hospitable Lambuth welcomed the Bishop to his home in the city, and they sweetly worshiped together. That home of this beloved brother of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, like the temple of Janus, was never closed in time of war, but, unlike the temple of Janus, it also stands open in time of peace. "Fraternity" at the Shanghai mission house has been a clear, unremitting, and abundant stream. Of the mission of the Church South the Bishop says:

> Our brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, have a very prosperous mission, whose head-quarters are in this city. They have work in Shanghai, Kahding, Naziang, Wangdoo, Soo Chow, Fahuho, Singkyung, and Tsungsoo; four foreign missionaries and six native preachers, four deacons and two elders, nine schools, and the "Clopton Girls' Boarding School," with over a hundred children in their schools.

But the Bishop was not a sauntering, idling tourist; he had earnest work to do, and nothing but work, and in forty-eight hours he was again under way.

The Chinese steamer upon which he embarked gave considerably reduced fare to missionaries, showing how the more advanced Chinese appreciate missionaries and their work. The president of the steamship company had in early life received much education and training under Dr. Brown, a well-known missionary. They proceeded up the bold and rocky coast, all along which for seven hundred miles are missionary outstations,

which were in view from the steamer, where native or foreign missionaries are laboring to evangelize this empire.

As they passed up the coast the Bishop was surprised to find that the Yellow River had changed its place of *embouchure* into the ocean. Years ago it discharged its immense volume of muddy water into the Yellow Sea, a hundred miles below the great Shantung promontory; now it has cut for itself a new channel, and empties into the Gulf of Pi-chi-li, a hundred miles north of the promontory—fitting emblem, this, that Chinese immobility is passing away. "This promontory extends far out into the sea, and is a couple of hundred miles in width, and all over it are mission outstations of the American Southern Baptist, American Presbyterian, and United Presbyterian Church of Scotland." The vessel grounded in the Peiho, and, with Rev. Mr. Lowry, the Bishop forsook it for a donkey that bore him to Tientsin.

Tientsin is the great emporium for the north of China, as Canton is for the south. It extends for several miles on both sides of the river, on the banks of which are many quays and docks, with large public buildings, chief of which are the custom-house, warehouses, and temples. The stores are handsome and well furnished, but the private houses are no ornaments to the streets, being built, as in all large Chinese cities in the North, within a court inclosed by a brick wall. We find here a busy scene. All the vessels of the "Chinese Merchants' Company" were hurrying up rice to be conveyed from this port into the interior, to relieve the terrible famine. Here we see the weakness of Chinese civilization. Tens of thousands of bags of rice were piled upon the docks, with no means but donkeys and donkey-carts to convey any of it two hundred miles into the interior to touch the famine-stricken district. This was, in part, the cause of the great amount of suffering—not the lack of food, but the inability to convey it to the starving people.

During the episcopal tour in North China from this point all became Chinese. There was no alternative in travel but mule carts or Chinese boats, of which the company chose the latter, but were almost sorry they did so; yet had the decision been otherwise, it might have merely reversed their regrets. They at length reached Tung Chow, one hundred and twenty miles from Tientsin, and thence proceeded at once to Peking, the center of the North China mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Having completed his duties in North China, the Bishop left the great city of Peking on the 6th of November, the cold weather threatening to close the navigation of the Peiho, and, therefore, hastening his departure. Taking chair and cart, the company, passing out of the eastern gate of the southern city, soon struck the Grand Canal, which with the Peiho extends to Tientsin and stretches thence onward across the Yellow River to the Yang-tsze-Kiang. This canal is wide and deep everywhere, and without locks, the boats being dragged with great labor up sluices to the different levels; often unloaded and loaded again at the other level. Between Tung Chow and Peking this is necessary five times. The country was beautiful, the modes of agriculture after the style of Bible times, and the road self-constructed. As they entered Tung Chow at sunset, a poor carter, whose cart had passed over his leg and broken it, was seen surrounded by a crowd in great consternation because they saw the man could not stand. The physician-Bishop set the limb, but had great difficulty in persuading the friends of the poor fellow not to remove the bandages. This Christly service rendered, he passed on. From Tung Chow they had a beautiful run to Tientsin, which is "a well built city, but one of the most filthy . . . in all China, and where all sanitary laws are set at defiance." All the drainage of the city finds its way into a moat ten feet wide, which surrounds the city wall, and disgusts the traveler with its stench as he crosses it to enter any one of the city gates. Dogs and pigs dispute with humans the possession of the streets. The Bishop writes:

> In the western part of the city, on the river bank, we saw the ruins of the Roman Catholic cathedral, left after the massacre and fire of 1870. They have refused to rebuild it, but after receiving a large amount of indemnity, far more than they lost in money value, left these ruins standing as a monument of the persecution and the martyrdom of their priests and nuns, and went into another part of the city to erect their building. Some twenty-two persons lost their lives in this outbreak in Tientsin in 1870, most of them Catholic priests and nuns.

Thence our travelers took steamer to Shanghai. Several tedious days of detention on the bar at the mouth of the Peiho failed to convince them of the desirableness of the protection which the Chinese think is thus afforded by nature to Peking.

In due time they were again amid the delightful hospitalities of the home of Rev. J. W. Lambuth. Here at Shanghai another steamer received them, and bore them five hundred miles up the Yang-tsze-Kiang to Kiukiang. The chief city passed on this great river was Nanking, the old Ming capital. Our author describes it with his customary perspicuity and beauty of style. We indulge in extracts of greater length than usual because of the special interest of the passage:

The streets are not so broad as those of Peking, but are on the whole cleaner and better paved, and bordered with handsome shops. The ancient palaces have nearly all disappeared. The only monuments of royalty which remain are some sepulchral statues not far from the walls, and are near an ancient cemetery which the foreigners call the Tombs of the Kings, and they form an avenue leading up to the sepulchers. They consist of gigantic figures, like warriors, cased in a kind of armor, and stand on either side of the road, across which at intervals extend finely-carved Pilaus. The ruins also of colossal figures of horses, elephants and other animals may still be seen scattered about. Nothing has made Nanking more celebrated abroad than the Porcelain Tower, of which, alas! we have now to speak in the past tense, and say that it stood pre-eminent above all other buildings in China for its elegance, the quality of the material of which it was built, and the quantity of gilding with which its exterior was embellished. This building, and the report that the tower was covered with gold, and that the great gilded ball at the summit was also of solid gold, led to its destruction by the iconoclastic and avaricious rebels. Its form was octagonal, divided into nine equal stories, the circumference of the lower one being one hundred and twenty feet, and decreasing gradually to the top. Its base rested upon a solid foundation of brick work ten feet high, up which a flight of twelve steps led into the tower, whence a spiral staircase of one hundred and ninety steps carried the visitor to the summit, two hundred and sixty-one feet from the ground. The outer surface was covered with tiles of glazed porcelain of various colors, principally green, red, yellow, and white. The body of the edifice was of brick. At every story there was a projecting roof covered with green tiles, and a ball suspended from each corner. The interior divisions were filled with a great number of little gilded images placed in niches. This remarkable structure was built in 1430, having been nineteen years in building.

Nanking has extensive manufactures of fine satin and crape, and the cotton cloth which foreigners call nankeen, but of which very little now reaches foreign coasts, derives its name from this city. Paper and ink of fine quality, and beautiful artificial flowers of pith paper, are produced here. Nanking is renowned

for its schools and literary character as well as its manufactures, and in this particular still stands among the first places of learning in the country. It has large libraries and bookstores, all indicating and assisting literary pursuits, and the superior care and elegance of the editions of the classics published here combine to give it this distinguished place.

Wu-hu is a modern annex to the city of Nanking, exhibiting externally the impress of foreign civilization in its streets, architecture, stores, etc. To all the cities along the river the missionaries from Kiukiang extend their itinerations.

Kiukiang is described as a walled city, about four miles in circuit, on the south bank of the river; and our mission property is admirably located, part of it within the walls, and part without in the foreign "concession." Engrossing duties filled up the stay of the Bishop, and then he promptly retraced his steps to Shanghai, and bade Kiukiang a final adieu. The Bishop says:

> Kiukiang is admirably located for a mission center, being surrounded in every direction for many miles by towns or cities, nearly all of which can be reached by rivers or lakes. The climate is very mild, and gives every indication of healthfulness. None of these cities opened on the river are fulfilling the hopes of foreigners as places of foreign trade, but are found to be very thriving and enterprising places for native manufactures and trade, and very important and promising for missionary operations. We have reason to congratulate ourselves on the success and hopeful increase of our mission on the great river. Our missionaries entered Kiukiang late in 1868. We are the only mission operating in and around the city, except an occasional itinerant visitation from representatives of the "Inland Mission."

The city of Shanghai is on the right bank of the Woosing, a branch of the Yang-tsze-kiang, about twelve miles from its mouth. It has a population of one hundred and fifty thousand, and the wall of the city is about three miles in circumference, pierced by six gates. A canal flows all around the wall, and three canals, with numerous small branches, penetrate the city. The projecting roofs of the low wooden houses overhang narrow streets that are paved with tile and are reeking with filth and vilest odors. The shops are numerous and well stocked. Our author continues:

> Shanghai is really a triple city, native, foreign, and mixed. The native city is surrounded by the universal wall, dark, gloomy,

and dirty, every-where wearing the aspect of squalor and want. No foreigners live inside the walls. Indeed, one can hardly think of a more miserable imprisonment for a foreigner than to be compelled to live within those walls. All the missionaries are, however, working within the city, while dwelling outside. The foreign city consists of three "concessions"—English, American, and French—stretching for three miles along the curve of the river, and separated from each other by narrow creeks. This foreign city is really beautiful and quite unique, as it differs from all other cities by combining the European and Oriental style in its buildings and general appearance. There are some very magnificent buildings. The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Company's building is one of the finest in all the East. A public garden runs for quite a distance along the river. The long beautiful curved street-way bordering the river is called "The Bund," and is open all along one side to the river, and is built up with very imposing buildings on all the other side, nearly all of them having tasteful front yards, filled with semi-tropical vegetation. . . . It is a suggestive fact that the Chinese are every-where pressing in among the foreigners with their homes and business, and most of them building Chinese homes and stores in an improved Chinese style, showing that they can appreciate an improvement on even Chinese houses and comforts, while some of them come boldly to the front, and build large stores and hongs, and enter into direct competition with foreigners, even in matters of foreign trade. . . . The missionary force working in and about Shanghai numbers about thirty, English, Scotch, and Americans. Drs. Yates, Muirhead, Nelson, Young, Lambuth, Roberts, and Farnham, seem to be leaders among them. The Church of England has a fine cathedral as an architectural structure, but almost worthless to speak or hear in. The Presbyterians have a neat church building for English services; and the "non-Episcopals" have a union chapel for English services. The Presbyterian Publication House is an extensive building, and is doing a great and good work in publishing the Scriptures and many other works in the Chinese language. From Shanghai as a center these missionaries are operating far out in the country, all the missions having "outstations," some of them a hundred miles away.

The Bishop now proceeded down the coast to the mouth of the river Min, on which is situated Foochow, his next point of destination, and to him and the Methodist Episcopal Church generally the one of far greatest interest. The important cities of Ningpo and Hangchow are noticed as having been passed *en voyage*. The vessel now suddenly tacked and bore them into the Min. Winding their way "through a picturesque group of islands, called the White Dogs, and which seem like

savage sentinels guarding the entrance of the river," they pursued their way. Scenes familiar to the Bishop twenty-five years before met his vision on every side, and he was well-nigh overcome by the inexpressible emotions that were naturally excited. Yet many changes had taken place. When he first entered this river the Portuguese lorchas were the most eligible conveyance within his reach. Now he was sailing up the river in a snug little English steamer. The Bishop says:

> In the summer of 1851 we chartered one of these vessels at Hongkong, and a voyage of eight days along the bleak and barren coast of China brought us to this same outlet of the river. Now three or four lines of steamers are running up and down the coast of China, and regular steam communication is kept up between Foochow and Shanghai on the north, and Hongkong and Canton on the south.

The pages under review abound in fine descriptive passages, and the one that introduces us to the city of Foochow is worthy to be presented as a specimen. The author says:

> The scenery of the river Min inspires universal admiration. Travelers have frequently compared it to the picturesque scenery of the Rhine, but Americans find a better comparison in the beautiful scenery of the Hudson, which it equals in grandeur and surpasses in the beautiful blending of the rich low-lands, cultivated rice-fields and tributary streams. The principal entrance to the river is narrow, bounded on each side by ranges of lofty and undulating hills, most of which, however, have been made to yield in many places to the ingenuity of Chinese cultivation, and exhibit in numerous spots along their steep sides beautiful verdant terraces, producing on their level surfaces a large variety of articles of food. This beautiful and striking feature, exhibiting the industry and ingenuity of the Chinese husbandman, is constantly repeated along the steep and naked sides of the high mountain range which extends along the northern side of the river, as well as on the more gentle slopes of the numerous hills which range in varied scenery along the southern bank of the stream, and the effect is too beautiful to weary the observer by its repetition. This narrow pass is now strongly fortified by the Chinese government.
>
> After passing between the two hills, which almost meet together at the mouth of the river, the stream widens into what appears to be a beautiful hill-bound lake, enlivened along its banks with numerous villages, and dotted over its surface with a multitude of small boats, constituting the homes of a large number of natives who make their living by fishing and disposing of

their supply to the people of the villages along the river. On the right bank of the river is a large village, Kwantow, where there is a military establishment and a custom-house, which used to be the general clearance office for the city of Foochow.

Continuing to ascend the stream, the traveler reaches another narrow pass, called the Mingang, with columns of rocks on either side, piled up to the height of a thousand feet, between which the deep waters rush with great velocity. Beyond this the stream again widens into a beautiful, broad, and deep river, skirted on the north by a high, broken range of mountains, glittering here and there in the sun's rays, with the torrents and cascades which rush down its precipices. On the south side it is adorned by alternating hills and large level areas of paddy fields, through which in one place is seen winding a large creek, leading back into the fertile country, and in another opening out into a deep ravine, through which flows a large branch of the river, which here returns to meet again its parent stem, from which it had separated a few miles above the city of Foochow. In the north-western extremity of this view of the river are seen two beautiful and, in this warm climate, ever green islands, lifting their hemispherical forms from the bosom of the river; and about three miles to the south of this, at the other extremity of the scene, is discovered a large triangular island, on the upper extremity of which rises the seven-storied pagoda which has given its name to this island. This part of the river constitutes the principal anchorage for vessels of large tonnage. In it were now lying a number of sailing vessels and several steamers.

After ascending above the Pagoda Island the river separates into two large branches, the principal of which, taking a north-easterly direction, leads to Foochow; while the other, ascending more to the south and west, again joins with the principal branch, about eight miles above the city, after encircling a large and fertile island about thirty miles long, and which, opposite the city, is six or seven miles in width. As soon as we rounded the head of Pagoda Island, we felt that the old Foochow of twenty-five years ago had wonderfully changed. As we turned toward the right bank to look for our venerable friend of twenty-five years ago, the high, picturesque mountain range of Kushan, we beheld, stretching along the line of the river, for quite a mile in extent, a large number of foreign buildings, and heard the puff of steam-engines and the clatter of hammers, which indicated to us another great arsenal and ship-yard, owned and directed by the Chinese government. Lying in front of these buildings were four very fine-looking gun-boats that had been built by the Chinese.

As we ascend the river the range of mountains recedes from the stream, and in irregular and broken masses sweeps along the northern boundary of the large amphitheater in which lies the city. On the southern bank of the other branch of the river is another high range of exceedingly irregular hills, whose dark outlines are visible from Foochow, thus completing the beautiful

basin in which the city is situated. One of these hills, quite abrupt and mountainous, called Tiger Hill, which towers up in the distance just opposite the city, is supposed to have a strange influence over the destinies of Foochow. It is said that an early prophet declared that when this hill, which terminates in an abrupt precipice on the river's edge, should fall, the city would be destroyed. To prevent this great catastrophe two large granite lions are set up within the city walls immediately facing this threatening hill, which are supposed to counteract all evil influences of this rugged elevation.

As we come nearer the city we discover that another wonderful change has taken place. All along the southern side of the river we now see a number of foreign houses, many large merchant's hongs, and many beautiful homes on the side of the hill back from the river. A foreign population of about two hundred, and a foreign trade of millions of pounds per year, has sprung up in the city since we left it, twenty-five years ago. But old China is still the same. As we approach the city, hundreds of "*sampans*," or small row-boats, and larger vessels more permanently located, here throng the river, and serve as residences for their owners. These water residences are one of the striking features of Chinese life, and are found in all parts of the empire. The river population of Foochow must amount to several thousand souls, born and reared and spending their lives on these boats. Here, too, are the many junks of the olden time, of all forms and sizes, from the massive uncouth vessels coming down from Shantung, to the neat little black painted crafts of Hingpo; and these vessels pursue the same old method of sailing down the coast during the early fall and winter by the aid of the north-east monsoon, and then lying here for nearly six months, to sail back again when the monsoon shall have changed to the south-west. Here, too, in the center of the river, is the same Tongchiw, or Middle Island, connected with the banks on each side by stone bridges and densely covered with buildings, and occupied by a busy, thriving multitude, numbering several thousands. Several native official residences are found on this island, and formerly we made our own home upon it, accompanied by two mission families.

This city is the capital of the Fuhkien province, which has an area of fifty-seven thousand square miles, and a population of fifteen millions of the most hardy and adventurous natives of the empire. On the south side of the river is a great suburb called Ato, containing a population of fifty thousand, with extensive shops and markets and numerous massive temples. As it is well said:

Circumstances have fixed this locality as the chief center of our mission at Foochow. Here, on an extensive compound on the

southern face of the hill, we have five excellent residences, one of them owned by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. We have a large three-story girls' boarding-school, also belonging to the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. We have another large three-story building, with basement, the lower part of which may be called the "Methodist Book Concern" of Foochow, and the remaining two stories may be designated the "Theological Institute," of the Foochow Conference.

On the front face of the hill we have a fine brick building known as the Tieng-ang Tong, the "Heavenly Rest Church," divided into two compartments, the one for English and the other for Chinese service. A little removed to the west of this great compound is located the home and hospital of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, under the direction of Miss Sigourney Trask, M.D.

On the west bank of the river is a still more populous suburb, extending two miles above the great bridge, and one mile below it, spreading out in some places considerably over the plain, and containing not far from one hundred thousand souls. On its main thoroughfare, leading to the gate of the city, is the Methodist Episcopal Church of long Tau, and in another portion of this same suburb is another commodious church, called Ching-Sing Tong, "Church of the True God," the first church erected in our China Mission.

The one hundred and fifty pages of the work that follow from this point are occupied with a vivid description of the city of Foochow and its environs, with a lucid historical sketch of the city, especially as connected with Christian missions, and particularly those of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Deeply interesting accounts of the transactions of the conference, and of the exercises and institutions connected therewith, are also given. The Bishop was also among the heathen and Mohammedan temples of the region, and saw the ceremony of the false worship therein, and gives us his meditations thereon. He also favors us with a most discriminating consideration of the character and writings of Confucius, which concludes the whole. All these various chapters are interspersed with incidents illustrative of Chinese manners and customs. Of these well-written and deeply-interesting chapters we can give but the merest outline.

We follow the Bishop as he enters within the walls and threads his way through the ten-feet-wide streets, jostled by

baskets of fruit, bags of rice, boxes of tea, sedan-chairs, etc., the din of gongs and bells, angry and vulgar epithets, and perpetual cries of "Look out!" "Take care!" and "Keep to the right!" ringing in his ears. He does not accept the multitude of temples that he beholds as evidence of the devotion of the masses to the reigning faith; but, on the contrary, the temples themselves bear witness to the decaying state of these idolatrous and unmeaning systems.

Nearly every one of them exhibits evidences of desertion and decay. Many of them seem never to be opened at all, and are covered with dust and filth; others, entirely abandoned, are crumbling into ruins. Their walls are fallen and overgrown with weeds and mosses. Their spacious courts are empty and desolate, and their huge idols are broken and crumbling to dust on their deserted shrines.

At one place he turned aside for a noisy wedding procession, while at another he saw the drill of native soldiers who had been trained under French and English officers, and felt that the Chinese were becoming formidable as a military power. He revisited the place where years ago he had accompanied the British Consul to witness an execution, and from which he had fled after seeing two, out of nineteen, decapitated. He accepted an invitation to a Chinese wedding in high life, and felt quite at home, treading upon Brussels carpet, and surrounded by foreign pictures, easy-chairs, sofas, etc., though feast and customs were all Chinese. He toiled up the Kushan Mountain to the magnificent ancient monastery of the Bubbling Spring, (Kushan,) near its summit. His eye could hardly be satisfied till he had fully taken in the field where for years he had toiled in great faith and some hope. All this sight-seeing was but incidental to the greater business for which the Bishop had come to Foochow.

His visit to the rural regions was chiefly that he might inspect the mission work at Kucheng. A delegation of native Christians met the visiting company two miles outside of Kucheng, who were re-enforced at a nearer point by the presiding elder, the saintly Hu Yong Mi, and other members of the mission. We cannot pause to rehearse the affecting Christian experiences that the Bishop records as given at the love-feast, or to speak as we would of the high Sabbath at Kucheng, or

of the great spiritual outpouring with which the assembled Church was favored. Every part of the occasion was of a type to be compared only with Methodism of the olden style, and reminds us of the glory revealed on like occasions to our fathers. The chief interest was concentrated in the organization and session of the conference, held after the Bishop returned from Kucheng to the city of Foochow. The Bishop says:

It was an occasion of intense interest to myself, as well as to all. Twenty-seven years ago I had come to this city among the earlier missionaries. Twenty-three years ago I had left the city with but very little encouragement or indication of what was to be the grand result. Then there was not a single merchant here, all the foreign trade that there was at that time being carried on by two opium ships, located near the mouth of the river. Now I find a large mercantile settlement, filled with elegant residences and busy hongs. Then there was not a church nor a native Christian; now there are in this city three large churches of our own mission, besides several of other missions. Then we could not, by treaty rights, pass more than five miles beyond the city; now our missionaries and native preachers have their districts and their circuits, reaching one hundred and fifty miles to the north and west, and two hundred miles to the south and east. Now there are over four hundred native Christians in the three missions and in this Church. I now see before me eighty native Chinese preachers, and between two and three hundred native Chinese Christians, representing a Church membership of more than two thousand, ready to be organized into an Annual Conference.

The Bishop transferred five missionaries and fifteen native preachers from conferences in the United States, where they held their membership, and declared them to constitute the Foochow Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, authorized by the General Conference of 1876. Of the two secretaries one was native. Committees were raised on self-support, opium, Sunday-schools, the Sabbath, etc. Anniversaries were held, and all the business of the conference done as in conferences in our own land. The Bishop continues:

There was an affecting scene when we began the examination of character. S. L. Baldwin, who had been superintendent of the mission, stood first on the list, and Hu Po Mi was called upon, as presiding elder, to represent him. The venerable brother arose and said: "I cannot do it, I cannot do it," and the tears began to roll down his cheeks, and he said again, "I cannot do it. The like was never seen in China; these foreign

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teachers have come here to teach us of Jesus, and now we are in an Annual Conference, and I am called upon to represent the teacher. I can think of nothing like it but when the Saviour insisted on washing the disciples' feet." The whole conference was much affected. The Sabbath of the conference was a day of full work and blessed enjoyment. The love-feast commenced at half past eight in the morning, in which a large number of the brethren gave excellent and interesting testimonies to the reality, the value, and the blessedness of the religion which they enjoyed. Some of them had endured serious trials and persecutions during the year for the cause they had espoused. To this day it is not a matter of gain, but of very serious loss in every temporal and earthly respect, to the Chinese who become Christians. It is not, therefore, for the hire, which is but a little pittance, which these native preachers get from the Missionary Society, that they enter into this work; but always with great pecuniary sacrifice, and with opposition every-where, and with persecution in most places. They enter into this work, being called by the Holy Ghost, and sustained by a conscious personal Christian experience. Every one of our presiding elders could immediately retire from his Christian and official character and make three or fourfold the amount of money he is receiving in the Christian work. . . . Immediately after the adjournment of the conference we had a consultation with the missionaries and presiding elders as to the distribution of the missionary money appropriated to the native preachers. The rate was fixed at three dollars a month for each of the preachers, a dollar and a half for his wife, and seventy-five cents for each child. As large a part of this as is possible is paid by each circuit and district, and the balance is then paid by the mission. The conference itself passed a resolution that all the circuits in the older work ought to be able to support their own preachers in five years from this time, and recommended that missionary money should not be paid to the preacher, but to the stewards of the charge, as supplementary to whatever they could do, and to be administered by the stewards; and they also passed a rule that the amount appropriated to any circuit should gradually diminish from year to year, and cease entirely within a limited period.

At this scale of prices it really looks strange to an American to see such men as Hu Yong Mi, Hu Po Mi, and Sia Sek Ong—men who, in character and ability, if they had the same experience and acquaintance with American life as they have with that of China, would be qualified to fill the highest places in the Church in the United States—receiving as the compensation for their labor three dollars for themselves, one dollar and a half for their wives, and seventy-five cents for each child, making in the case of the saintly Hu Yong Mi six dollars a month for his invaluable services. Sia Sek Ong for some years has refused to receive any missionary money, and has depended entirely upon the contributions of his district, which has been able to contribute

to him about this same rate of pay. Surely these men cannot be suspected of secular or mercenary motives in engaging in this Christian service. We were profoundly impressed with the godly sincerity and earnest devotion of all these native preachers. No one can look upon them for a moment without believing that God is with them, and that he is using them as his chosen instruments for the accomplishment of great results in China.

Of the schools of the mission only two receive special attention in this volume. First, the theological school, in which are thirteen bright and promising young men, among them a son of Hu Po Mi and one of Hu Yong Mi. There are Christians now of the fourth generation of this Hu family. Of the descendants of Father Hu, who was one of our first converts, four sons are now in the ministry, three of whom are in the conference. This school of the prophets will henceforth supply an intelligent stable ministry for the conference, and is of surpassing importance. The second school referred to is the Girls' Boarding School, in charge of the Misses Woolston. Neatness, good order, thoroughness, and spirituality are all given as its characteristics. Due praise is also awarded the medical work, in charge of the almost worshiped Miss Dr. Trask.

The chapter on Confucius is very discriminating and appreciative. We have never read six other pages in which so much is so well said to meet the general want on this subject. Confucius, to the author's mind, just met the limited cravings of the Chinese heart of his time. The Chinese are not like the people of India, philosophers and metaphysicians, for, as Huc has well said, "They ask of time only what may suffice for life; of science and letters, what is required to fill official employment; of the greatest principles, only their practical consequences; and of morality, nothing but the political and utilitarian part." This is just what Confucius has given them. But our author says:

> His reign, however, is enduring too long. China can advance no further until she breaks away from and passes on beyond Confucius. He has been a beneficent conservative power during the past centuries, but he is utterly unable to carry his people beyond the semi-civilized state in which they have been living for twenty centuries. Something infinitely broader than Confucianism is needed to lift this great nation into the higher plane of civilization and enlightenment.

With a sad heart the Bishop looked upon the receding shores of his old-time mission field as he took his departure, probably to see it no more. An untold measure of love, of anxiety, of sorrow, of bereavement, of prayer, of faith, of hope, of toil, on his part are all embalmed in this now great mission. By way of Amoy and Swatow, in due time he reached Hongkong. On every side evidences of the influence of foreigners were manifest, and yet his observations led him to some remarkable inferences. He says:

> The Chinese of Hongkong are very enterprising, and here, as well as at Canton and Shanghai, they are gradually taking much of the trade out of the hands of the foreigners. They can do it so much more cheaply that it is a serious question whether before many years they will not make it unprofitable for foreigners to do business in China. The natives have this notion themselves, and are working toward it. They have bought up a large number of steamers, and the government itself is making a large number of steam war vessels. Charles of Sweden is fast teaching Peter of Russia to take care of himself. The Chinese are rapidly learning the same lesson.

From Hongkong the Bishop proceeded to Canton, and from that port embarked for Japan. Canton is of special interest to Christians of the United States, arising out of the fact that most of the Chinese who come to this country are from this province. The Methodist Episcopal Church should have missions in Canton. It has at times proposed to have them, but lack of means has to this present prevented. In view of this we pause to give a few of the Bishop's observations on Canton.

The approach to the city is through the Bocca Tigris, and up the Pearl or Canton River. The anchorage for foreign shipping is at Whampoa, twelve miles below Canton. The growth and prosperity of Victoria have diminished the trade of Canton. The first thing that meets the eye is the river population. Not less than two hundred thousand of the people of Canton inhabit floating homes. Next you see the frowning fort, that tells of Chinese advance in the art of war and national defense. The city front is crowded with all sorts of boats. The author continues:

> On each side of the river you find a large number of boats of considerable size moored to the shore, in which whole families are living. Some of these dwellings are very handsomely

carved and gayly painted. On the decks or flat roofs of some of them are constructed gardens, where they sit and smoke amid flowering shrubs, planted in painted porcelain flower-pots. You soon discover also other boats, fitted up in very elegant style, which serves as *cafés*, where Chinese gentlemen spend their evenings. And still another kind is soon seen, the most gayly decorated of all, which have carved fronts, gayly painted, silken lanterns suspended from their roofs, with looking-glasses, pictures, and verses of an amatory character inscribed on colored paper hanging on their sides. These are called the "Flower Boats," and are sinks of iniquity. The wretched female inmates, bedizened in tawdry finery, some of them tottering on their little deformed feet, appear at the door or on the decks, beckoning the passer-by, trying to entice him by their allurements to enter. Many of these degraded females are, at an early age, purchased from their parents, for prices varying from five to fifty dollars, and are retained in bondage until worn out by disease and profligacy. They are then turned adrift by their vile owners, with scarcely sufficient covering for their bodies to protect them from the weather, or answer the purposes of common decency. The career of vice is usually commenced at ten years of age, and they seldom live beyond twenty-five years.

But we were exceedingly glad to see that this unabashed profligacy and shame was very much restrained from the bold, daring, and impudent character which the whole thing presented a score of years ago.

Canton was the largest city the Bishop had seen in China, and, dense as populations generally are in China, they are nowhere else so dense as here. The houses are, many of them, two stories high, built of bluish-colored bricks. The streets are cleaner but not wider than usual in China. The foreign residences are on the Island Shameen, separated entirely from the native city by a canal that flows around it. The island is beautiful and has many fine buildings. The only mode of conveyance through the city is by sedan, through narrow streets, crowded, as in other cities, with a motley, noisy multitude, bearing all sorts of burdens and pursuing all sorts of employments. Lepers and beggars with loathsome diseases are numerous.

The wall that surrounds the city is six miles in extent, embracing the "old" and "new" cities, which are divided from each other by another wall. Quite as many of the population live outside the walls as within. The city is dotted all over with temples and pagodas, and has some fine residences. Tinsel and filth are often in immediate contrast,

and the rich Chinaman is usually ridiculous for his pride and conceit.

The Bishop visited the Buddhist temple of "the five hundred gods," which has five hundred images of saints or deified disciples of Buddha, arranged on platforms around the temple. They are of life-size, sitting on their folded legs, and each one bears something to indicate the reason for his canonization, such as eyes turned to heaven that are supposed never to have winked, a hand held so steadily out that a bird builds its nest in the hand, etc. The Bishop "next visited the Buddhist temple of horrors, the chief feature of which is ten cells, in which are exhibited the various pains of the Buddhist hell, or purgatory."

The actual scenes are exhibited in clay figures about two thirds life-size. The first cell, about ten feet square, which is about the measurement of each of them, is the hall of judgment, where the poor wretches are tried. Then came one chamber where a man is receiving from the demons a terrible whipping, being stretched on the ground face downward, by two men, while the third is beating him with a large paddle. The next cell exhibits a criminal fastened in a frame head downward, and being sawn in two, lengthwise. In the next another is suffering the torture of slow burning; another is supposed to be sitting under a red-hot bell. In the next they are in cages, and some chained with the Chinese cangue; in another they are being beheaded; and in another they are ground in a mill, and pounded in a mortar. In the next they are boiling a poor fellow in oil, and in the last some poor wretches, for having been guilty of eating beef, are being themselves slowly transformed into oxen. Several figures in this cell present the various steps of this transformation. In all these cells numerous figures of demons are looking on with expressions of diabolical satisfaction, and, strange to say, around the sides of each of the cells are ranged, in scenic manner, mountain and hill-side retreats, on which are seen smaller figures of the good and saved, seeming to take an equal delight in witnessing the pains of the unhappy ones who have missed of paradise. Notwithstanding all these horrors booths are rented out before all these cells, and a lively traffic is carried on, and the priests themselves drive a large trade in selling paper fans, sacrificial money, etc., which are to be burned for the use of these suffering wretches.

Canton is the oldest and most difficult of Chinese mission fields. The vices and aggressions of foreigners, and the animosities engendered by war, seem to have here done their

worst. Nevertheless numerous societies are here, doing and daring for Christ, among which are the American Board, the London Missionary Society, our Presbyterian and Baptist Missionary Boards, and the British Wesleyans. This is the field of Rev. George Piercy, who went out to China at his own cost, and by his Christian zeal won over the Wesleyan Missionary Society to adopt him and his work.

Neither from Chinese books nor the masses of China can a clear idea be obtained of the religious systems of the Chinese, if such they possess. Such confused notions as exist in the one, or are found in the other, are well stated by our author. The undefined State religion is not idolatrous, yet the people are idolaters. Our author regards Confucianism as not a system of religion but of morals. Taouism is more spiritual than the native faith, teaching the separate existence of the human soul, and future reward and punishment. But, altered and corrupted as it now is, these doctrines of Taouism have been greatly modified, and made the basis of most absurd opinions and practices.

The author's history of Buddhism, and statement of its doctrines and usages, are of much interest, but that which is most striking is the similarity he traces between this false system and Roman Catholicism.' Our author says:

> This is one of the first things that arrests the attention of the observing foreigner. He is at once attracted by its great show of temples, monasteries, nunneries, way-side joss-houses, frequent processions, and multiplied festivals. The long-robed and shaven-headed priest, with his slow and measured tread, his pusillanimous air, and his Jesuitical cunning, strikes him as a quite familiar personage. Even when he enters the Buddhist temple or monastery things wear a familiar aspect. The images, the statue of the "Holy Mother," or "Queen of Heaven," with her babe, the walls adorned with paintings, some exhibiting passages in the life of Buddha, but more displaying the adventures of the Holy Mother, the altar, with its numerous vessels and instruments of service, the burning candles, the smoking incense, the ringing bells, the service in a foreign tongue, the prostrations, the mock solemnity, the muttered prayers, and the monotonous chantings, all forcibly remind him of scenes in Romish chapels. Nor will it aid in dispelling the illusion to find here and there, in the different apartments of the establishment, devout-looking priests counting over their beads, and repeating over and over again the same brief sentences, till he fancies he can almost catch the

familiar sounds of "*Ave Marias*" and "*Paternosters.*" A visit to the library will still aid in the delusion, especially when permitted to examine the collection of sacred relics—Buddha's tooth, the bones of the saints, the urns containing the ashes of departed priests, etc.; all sacredly kept and looked upon with the profoundest veneration. Nor will the resemblance be less complete by discovering it to be a great ecclesiastical organization extending its authorities through various countries; having its infallible head in the Grand Lama, its pontifical court, its high functionaries, its priests, its monks and nuns of various schools and orders, its ordinances of celibacy, its holy water, its sales of charms, amulets and indulgences, its masses for the dead, its worship of relics and canonization of saints, and its womanolatry in the worship of Kwanyin, "the Queen of Heaven."

The history of the earliest efforts to introduce Christianity into China is somewhat obscure. The author dates the first as early as the sixth century by the Nestorians, but traditions of even apostolic preaching in China are still extant. While the Nestorians were yet in the field, Jean de Corvin, and several other Romish monks, entered it, and probably gathered about them a flourishing Christian community. But persecutions broke out under Genghis Khan, and with the fall of the Mongol dynasty, in 1369, all traces of this work disappeared. The Jesuits entered the field later, and were for a time in favor with the earlier emperors of the Tartar dynasty. Theological disputations arose among them, the Chinese became confused as to the relation between ancestral worship and the worship of the saints, and the Pope sought to settle these contests by decrees. This interference the emperor resisted, and plottings and intrigues followed, and the Jesuits were banished. There remained, however, some traces of this work, which became a nucleus of the re-opening of the Romish mission, in 1844. The Roman Catholic Church now reports missions in sixteen provinces, two hundred and fifty-four European missionaries, and one hundred and thirty-eight native priests, and nearly five hundred thousand members. Our author says:

The presence and apparent success of these Romish missionaries is not favorable to the real Christianization of China. As stated in a previous chapter, they are practicing many injustices and much oppression in many parts of China. Their priests are assuming official rank and prerogatives. They act in the character of magistrates, deciding disputes between the so-called members of their Church and other natives, even taking their

followers out of the hands of the native authorities and deciding cases of crime or debt according to their own judgment or prejudice. They even in some places assume to arrest natives who are not members of their Church, but who have committed a crime against their members, or fail to pay debts which they owe them.

Under a very unrighteous clause in the French Treaty, by which they were to receive the lands formerly held by the Jesuits in the seventeenth century, they claim large possessions of land which they undoubtedly never held, and large compensations for grounds which it is impossible for them now to recover. All these things tend greatly to increase and intensify in the minds of the Chinese, and especially of the authorities, what is really the greatest obstacle to more liberal foreign intercourse and trade, and to more generous treatment of missionaries and their work, which is a fear on the part of the government that the final object of all foreigners in China is to get possession of their government and country. If this fear could be removed from the minds of the Chinese, and they could be made to feel that there are no ulterior plots or schemes, looking to the endangering of their country, or the disruption of their government, all other obstacles would soon give way, and we might have free intercourse in all parts of China to live and trade and preach the Gospel.

No attempt was made to give the Bible to the Chinese till Rev. Joshua Marshman, of the Baptist Missionary Society, attempted it in 1799, but it was not really done till Rev. Robert Morrison, of the London Missionary Society, who began his labors in 1807, accomplished it. The Churches of the United States did not send missionaries till 1830, then the American Board sent Rev. C. C. Bridgeman to Canton, who was followed the next year by Rev. David Abeel, who went to Amoy. In 1833 S. W. Williams went from the same society, and gave forty years to the work. Dr. Peter Parker went out in 1834.

After the opening of the five ports by the treaty which terminated the "opium war," missionaries flowed into China in great numbers, and the work of evangelizing the great empire has been ever since vigorously prosecuted. Our author considers that but twenty-five years of actual mission work has been done in China, and he says:

During that twenty-five years the open ports have been increased from five to sixteen, extending along the whole coast of China, from Canton to Peking, and a thousand miles up the great Yang-tsze-Kiang; and the places where missionaries actually

reside have increased in that time from 6 to 91, and in addition to these places of residence there are 511 "outstations" where the gospel is preached. The little company of about 30 missionaries in 1850 has grown to 473, and the 11 missionary societies operating in 1850 have become 30 in 1877. Of these 11 societies are American, 13 British, 3 Continental, and 3 are Bible Societies.

The missionary force is now 344 married missionaries, 66 single males, 63 single females, a total of 473. Of these 209 are American, 222 British, 33 Continental, and 8 representatives of the Bible Societies. There are 9 English, and 10 American physicians, 3 of the latter being ladies. There has been an increase within the last ten years of 5 societies, 35 stations, 115 missionaries, and more than 150 outstations.

The whole is summed up as follows: 91 stations; 511 outstations; 312 organized Churches; 43 self-sustaining Churches; 243 partly self-sustaining; 13,035 communicants, of which 8,068 are males and 4,967 females; pupils, 3,602; in theological schools, 20; students, 231; Sunday-schools, 115; Sunday scholars, 2,605; school-teachers, 29; colporteurs, 76; ordained native preachers; 73; assistant native preachers, 511; Bible women, 90; church buildings, 243; chapels, 437; hospitals, 16; patients, 3,780; out-door patients, 87,515; dispensaries, 24; applicants, 44,281 money raised, $9,271.

"China" is concluded by an epitome of the history of Methodist missions in China, which embraces the M. E. Church, South, and British Wesleyan missions, giving a total for all these of 14 stations; 109 outstations; 103 organized Churches; 2,319 members; 1,016 probationers; 71 schools; 1,288 pupils; 4 theological schools; 51 students; 78 Sunday-schools; 1,375 scholars; 25 ordained preachers; 113 assistant preachers; 21 Bible women; 43 church buildings; 114 chapels; 3 hospitals; 23 indoor patients; 604 outdoor patients; 3 dispensaries; 681 patients; 57 missionaries, and 30 wives.

These results are both amazing and inspiring. All the more so because the work has for this whole period been in its initiative. Starting from the present vantage-ground, what may it not be hoped will be effected within the twenty-five years next to come? What, ere a century will end? Truly the evangelization of this empire, so vast and populous, is not after all so very remote. The child may be born that will see China a Christian nation. This is an inference from what we see, as

well as the product of a living faith that the stone cut out of the mountain shall fill the whole earth.

Seven or eight chapters of the book remain. These are devoted to Japan, and abound in graphic descriptions of scenes and scenery; in a history of Christianity in Japan from its first introduction, in 1549, by the Jesuits under the leadership of Xavier, until it was extinguished at Shimabara by Iyeyasu, and of its re-introduction in 1854 in greater purity and power by Protestant missionaries; of Shintooism and Buddhism, the false religions we would displace by the bringing in of a better hope; and, lastly, of the suffering of women in Japan, and their need of the Gospel. The wonderful transformations that have so speedily been accomplished in this land appear from these chapters to be evidently the morning rays of a new civilization that ere long must pervade the whole nation, bearing amid its bursting glories the spiritual regeneration of thousands.

A mission just begun is thus placed by the side of a mission a quarter of a century old, only the more to invigorate the hope and strengthen the purposes of the people of God.

Will the author allow one to whom the great mission work is a specialty to render him thanks, on behalf of thousands of Christian hearts, for this interesting and valuable contribution to the missionary literature of the time?

Art. II.—THE ETHICS OF EVOLUTION.

Data of Ethics. By Herbert Spencer. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1879.

A right estimate of Mr. Spencer's ethics is impossible without referring to his general theory of mind. In common with many speculators of the same general tendency, he is very sensitive to the charge of materialism. Haeckel, Huxley, Spencer, and all the rest, indignantly repudiate this charge, and insist that only a fool or a knave can make it. Self-confessed materialists are as scarce as self-confessed thieves. What is materialism?

Materialism has many forms. It may be built upon the crude conceptions of matter which are framed by uncritical common sense, and it may be built upon a mystical notion of matter which defies comprehension. The first form is practi-

cally obsolete. For the modern materialist matter is not what it seems to be, but something mystic, subtle, wonderful. He never tires of dilating upon its mystery; and even while declaring it to be all-sufficient, he also insists that it is past finding out. But to the common mind the essence of materialism does not consist in an insight into the nature of matter, but in the claim that mind is but the unsubstantial product of organization. This claim is quite compatible with the loudest wondering over the mystery of the molecule, and even with idealism and nihilism. The idealist, who regards the organism as an ideal thing, may still hold that the organic idea so conditions the mental idea that the latter cannot exist without the former. The nihilist, too, who views both mind and matter as unsubstantial phantoms, may also insist that mental phantoms can exist only in connection with material phantoms. In fact, the union of idealism and materialism is nothing rare in the history of thought, for it was by this road that German philosophy descended into the materialistic slough. Strauss in his work, "The Old Faith and the New," insists that the difference between idealism and materialism is of names and terms rather than of principles. He himself remained a Hegelian to the last. Probably every thoughtful student of Hegel has felt that a slight change in terms would turn many parts of his system into a scheme of materialistic development. So the left wing understood the master, and they were not without excuse. The monistic materialist would have little difficulty in accepting Spinoza's root principles as identical with his own; and there are points of view from which parts even of Leibnitz's doctrine approach dangerously near a pantheistic form of materialism. There is an idealistic materialism, and there is also a materialistic idealism.

The ground, then, of the current repudiation of materialism by those who still make mind an unsubstantial product is, that materialism may be tested by its doctrine of matter and by its doctrine of mind. The monists judge themselves by their doctrine of matter, while common sense judges them by their doctrine of mind. Since they repudiate the crude and brutal notions of matter held by untaught common sense, they deny and resent the charge of materialism. But since they also teach that mind is a function of matter, common sense insists that they are materialists; for the common thought of materialism is not

that it teaches this or that theory of matter, but that it makes the soul nothing. This double point of view is the source of those charges and repudiations of materialism which are now so frequent, and which common sense finds so bewildering. Our own judgment is that if our yea is to be yea, and our nay, nay, then the English language has no word which better describes the views of the so-called advanced scientists than materialism. Its use will not mislead the popular mind to any such extent as its rejection. At the same time the critic cares nothing for a name, provided the thing be understood. When, then, the so-called materialist rejects the name, the critic wishes to have it remembered that this rejection means only that the rejecter does not hold the vulgar and spontaneous view of matter. Whatever his name, he insists that mind is only a function of the body, just as pointing time is a function of clock-work. Judged, then, by his doctrine of matter, Mr. Spencer, with many others of his school, is not a materialist. Judged by his doctrine of mind, Mr. Spencer, with many others of his school, is a materialist. If materialism means an acceptance of the vulgar view of matter, he is not a materialist. If materialism means viewing the mind as a function of matter and motion, he is a materialist. What is his doctrine of mind?

In common with many other evolutionists, Mr. Spencer denies that mind is any thing substantial. The self is declared to be nothing but an aggregate of mental states, ("Principles of Psychology," vol. i, p. 500,) and these states are held together by the nervous system. A man does not have thoughts and feelings, but is only the sum of his thoughts and feelings. The objective fact in evolution is declared to be a "redistribution of matter and motion;" and the problem of the evolutionist is to find its law. The result of the redistribution is the birth of the solar system, the genesis of the various physical forces, and finally of life and mind. The process is, of course, mysterious in its inner nature; but all these phenomena result, nevertheless, from the redistribution of matter and motion. If mind were excluded from the formula, the latter would no longer be all-embracing, and mind would appear in an outside realm by itself. But this would be an unallowable break in the continuity of the system. Mind, then, is only a general name for mental phenomena, and these result from the redistribution of matter and motion. To

be sure, matter and motion and mind are all declared to be but symbols of the unknowable; but the symbol, mind, is throughout regarded as causally connected with the symbols, matter and motion. It is this dependence of mind, be it reality or symbol, on matter and motion, be they realities or symbols, which, to the common thought, constitutes Mr. Spencer's system a form of materialism. It is worthy of note that Mr. Spencer dwells on this symbolic character of matter and motion only when the question of materialism is up; at other times they are "relative realities," and as real as the unknowable itself. It would sound rather odd to speak of the redistribution of matter and motion as a redistribution of symbolic conceptions. Mental states, then, according to Mr. Spencer, are only adjuncts of certain physical facts. As such they are highly mysterious indeed; but, whatever their mystery, they are such adjuncts and nothing more. We shall see this more clearly if we raise the further question, What is the relation of mental states to nervous action?

It has been proposed to call the nervous series neurosis, and the mental series psychosis. Adopting this terminology our question becomes, What is the relation of neurosis and psychosis? On this point the advanced scientists are not all agreed, and very few writers are consistent with themselves. Some regard psychosis as a transformation of physical energy in such a way that the energy displayed in psychosis has, for the time, no physical representative. It has disappeared from the physical realm entirely. Upon this theory, if we should measure the physical energy of a brain just before it began to think, and should afterward measure it when thought had begun, we should find that a certain amount of physical energy had been expended without any physical effect. The energy expended would be found, not in the physical, but in the mental realm. This view was very common for a time while the correlation of the forces was a new and misunderstood doctrine. The thought was that "force" was at last proved to be a single essence which undergoes endless transformation; and hence there was a general readiness to believe that thought itself is as real a form of energy as the matter itself. Many passages in Mr. Spencer's works imply this view. Consider the following quotation:

> How this metamorphosis takes place; how a force existing as motion, heat, or light, can become a mode of consciousness; how

it is possible for aerial vibrations to generate the sensation we call sound, for the force liberated by chemical changes in the brain to give rise to emotion—these are mysteries which it is impossible to fathom. But they are not profounder mysteries than the transformation of the physical forces into each other.—*First Principles*, 1st ed., p. 280.

This passage proceeds on the view mentioned. It takes the correlation of physical energies as the type of the process. But when one form of energy passes into a new form, it no longer exists in the old one. We should expect, then, that when physical energy passes into thought it no longer exists as physical energy. On this theory there may be a passing back and forth of physical energy between the nervous and the mental realm.

But in spite of this and many similar passages, Mr. Spencer and the evolutionists in general do not accept this view. It involves a serious break of physical continuity, and implies that the laws of motion do not determine all physical changes. The nervous state at any moment is determined not merely by the antecedent nervous state, but by that plus an irruption from the mental realm. Besides, the notion that physical energy should suddenly lay aside its distinctive character and become a thought, borders on the grotesque and the irredeemably absurd. These considerations have led to the view, now largely adopted by evolutionists, that neurosis does not pass into psychosis, but is attended by it. According to Prof. Clifford, the physical series goes along by itself, and the mental series goes along by itself. The favorite statement with Mr. Spencer is that the physical and the mental series "are the subjective and objective faces of the same thing." Prof. Bain also uses similar language, affirming a mental fact to be double-faced, being on one side a mental state, and on the other side a nervous change. Unfortunately this language is not so clear as could be desired. Both mind and matter appear in Mr. Spencer's formula as "faces;" but the relation of these "faces" is left undetermined. Are they mutually independent, so that the two faces go on by themselves? or does the mental face depend upon the physical face? Mr. Spencer thinks to escape materialism by this double-faced theory; but in vain. He points out at great length the impossibility of assimilating the mental to the physical series. One passage ("Principles of Psychology," vol. i, pp. 157–162) has become classic among the Spencerians. "That a unit of feel-

ing has nothing in common with a unit of motion becomes more than ever manifest when we bring the two into juxtaposition." "Nevertheless, it may be as well to say here, once for all, that if we were compelled to choose between the alternatives of translating mental phenomena into physical phenomena, or translating physical phenomena into mental phenomena, the latter alternative would seem the more acceptable of the two." This paragraph is often appealed to by the Spencerians as conclusively disproving the charge of materialism, and even as overthrowing materialism itself. It does not agree very well with the following utterance, also meant to be decisive: "See, then, our predicament. We can think of matter only in terms of mind. We can think of mind only in terms of matter."—*Principles of Psychology*, vol. i, p. 627. Mr. Spencer adds that we can get values of y only in terms of x, and conversely. We can hardly believe that he was betrayed into the latter statement by the alliteration and the antithesis; and yet there seems to be no better ground for it. Let one try to think of motion in terms of love, or of love in terms of motion, and the absurdity becomes apparent. Moreover, the previous quotation is a distinct refutation of the latter; and as the statements there made were made "once for all," we must regard them as Mr. Spencer's final view. Yet, antimaterialistic as it seems, the affirmation is merely that mental phenomena cannot be conceived in terms of any thing else; but it does not deny that they may be, and are, the product of something else. Thought and feeling as mental states are incommensurable with matter and motion; but this is an irrelevant commonplace so long as it is allowed that they result from the redistribution of matter and motion. For the question is not whether they can be joined in a common thought, but whether thought depends on matter and motion. What was said before about the "opposite faces" applies equally to the incommensurable series. The physical series is viewed as the independent fact, and the mental series as only a concomitant product. It is this fact which justifies common sense in ranking Mr. Spencer with the materialists.

Mr. Spencer's working theory is best expressed in the following quotation: "As shown in the earlier part of this work, an idea is the psychical side of what on its physical side is an involved set of molecular changes propagated through an in-

volved set of nervous plexuses. That which makes possible the idea is the pre-existence of these plexuses so organized that a wave of molecular motion diffused through them will produce, as its psychical correlative, the components of the conception in due order and degree. This idea lasts while the waves of molecular motion last—ceasing when they cease; but that which remains is the set of plexuses. These constitute the potentiality of the idea, and make possible future ideas like it."—*Principles of Psychology*, vol. ii, p. 484; see also vol. i, pp. 270,406.

In this passage and in many others the independence of the physical fact, "face," or series, is plainly affirmed. With equal clearness the dependent and transitory nature of the mental fact, "face," or series, is affirmed. Both may be "faces," and incommensurable, but none the less, the physical "face," compared with the mental "face," is independent and abiding. The bewildering statements about double-faced somewhats and opposite manifestations of the unknowable, must not be allowed to obscure this fact.

But even yet we have no clear statement of the relation of neurosis and psychosis. The doctrine is that psychosis is the concomitant of neurosis, but the doctrine is also that the energy of neurosis never passes into an energy of psychosis. The physical series goes along by itself with unbroken continuity. If, then, we could accurately observe nervous movements, we should find every nervous antecedent exhausted in its nervous consequent, and we should nowhere get any hint of the mental series supposed to be going on at the same time. But this view calls up the gravest difficulties. The mental series in this case is not caused by the physical series, but attends it. If, then, the mental series have any energy, or if it have any laws peculiar to, and founded in itself, we must seek its cause outside of the physical series. And if the mental series goes along by itself, and the physical series goes along by itself, then we have no means of accounting for their harmony or even for their connection. The difficulty is the old one with which the students of Spinoza are familiar. He viewed being, as extended, as going along by itself, and being, as thought, as going along by itself. Nothing happens in the physical world which is not fully accounted for by its physical antecedents, and nothing happens in the mental world which is not fully ac-

counted for by the mental antecedents. Between the two there is no interaction. But in that case, how account for their parallelism and co-existence? Neither accounts for the other, and we seem able to save knowledge only by a theory of pre-established harmony. We gain no relief by calling them opposite faces of the same thing, for then in logic we should make the opposite faces inseparable, so that mentality should be as universal as materiality; and even this expensive solution would not help us. For neither face, as face, explains or affects the other. The opposite faces still go along by themselves in mutual indifference. Nor would it avail to take the extreme positions of identifying the opposite faces, and say that all being is at once material and ideal according to our standpoint; for being, as thought, would be determined by the laws and norms of logic, while being, as material, would be determined by the laws of motion. The two views would not unite. If now we hold to physical continuity, we must either allow that the mental series is independent and has its cause and ground outside of the physical realm, or we must affirm that the mental series is merely a powerless attendant upon the physical processes, and is determined by them in every respect. Psychosis is merely the shadow of neurosis, and, like all shadows, is unsubstantial and powerless. The shadows come and go as the nervous states change, but they have no bond of connection among themselves. The bond which binds them is the nervous mechanism; but this bond appears among the shadows as a rational connection. This notion is admirably expressed in the following passages from Professor Huxley's lecture "On the Hypothesis that Animals are Automata:"

> The consciousness of brutes would appear to be related to the mechanism of their body, simply as a collateral product of its working, and to be as completely without any power of modifying that working as the steam whistle which accompanies the work of a locomotive engine is without influence upon its machinery. Their volition, if they have any, is an emotion indicative of physical changes, not a cause of such changes. * * * *
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> It is quite true that to the best of my judgment the argumentation which applies to brutes holds equally good of men, and, therefore, that all states of consciousness in us, as in them, are immediately caused by molecular changes of the brain substance. It seems to me that in men, as in brutes, there is no proof that any state of consciousness is the cause of any change in the mo-

tion of the organism. If these positions are well based, it follows that our mental conditions are simply the symbols in consciousness of the changes which take place automatically in the organism, and that, to take an extreme illustration, the feeling we call volition is not the cause of a voluntary act, but the symbol of that state of brain which is the immediate cause of that act.

Similarly Mr. Spencer, in the division entitled, "Special Synthesis," ("Principles of Pychology, vol. i,") teaches that instinct, memory, reason, feeling, and will, are but subjective symbols of nervous processes, which processes go on by themselves. Reason is explained as follows:

> For though when the confusion of a complex impression with some allied one causes a confusion among the nascent motor excitations, there is entailed a certain hesitation, and though this hesitation continues as long as those nascent motor excitations or ideas of the correlative actions go on superseding one another; yet, ultimately, some one set of motor excitations will prevail over the rest. As the groups of antagonistic tendencies aroused will scarcely ever be exactly balanced, the strongest group will at length pass into action, and as this sequence will usually be the one that has recurred oftenest in experience, the action will on the average of cases be the one best adapted to the circumstances. But an action thus produced is nothing else than a rational action.—Vol. i, p. 455.

On page 496 he describes volition in the same way as a conflict of nascent motor excitations ending at last in the victory of the strongest. It is not ideas as ideas which conflict, but ideas as nascent motor excitations, that is, as "nascent excitations of the nerves concerned." The premises do not determine the conclusion, and reason does not determiue the will; but underlying all is a mechanism of nervous states subject only to the laws of physical motion, whose resultant appears in consciousness as reasoning and volition. In the strictest sense of the phrase, the physical series goes along by itself without interference from the mental side. Doubtless many passages could be found in Mr. Spencer's works which conflict with this view, but a "mazy mingling of inconsistent views" is a prominent feature of his writings. We are sure that no competent and candid critic can interpret his system so far as it is a system, other than we have done. Neurosis is the independent fact, and psychosis is its unsubstantial shadow.

We have made this lengthy preamble for the sake of show-

ing the relations of "advanced science" to materialism, and also to give an insight into a new species of fatalism. It is well that the laity in science and philosophy should know the grounds for charging advanced science with materialism, and also the grounds and meaning of the denial.

It follows immediately from the admission that mental states produce no physical changes, but only accompany them, that there is no warrant whatever for affirming consciousness in any beings but one's own self. It is a commonplace of psychology that the existence of conscious beings external to ourselves is only an inference based upon their action. All that we can see in connection with them is a series of physical changes, and since these are independent of consciousness, it follows that they are no proofs of consciousness. They are indifferent to both its presence and its absence. Belief in other minds is a gigantic act of faith without any ground whatever. We seek in vain to help ourselves by appealing to our own experience, for if we have mastered our faith we see that even our own motions are no marks of consciousness, for they are in every case the outcome of nervous action without any interference from our purposes or volitions. Human history embraces a great series of physical changes. Homes and cities have been built; battles have been fought, and empires have arisen and decayed; commerce has covered the continents with its roads, and the sea with its fleets; and heroes and martyrs, too, have battled and died for truth and righteousness. We leave to the imagination to picture the manifold activities which center in the family and the fireside. And we have thought that in all this the human mind was manifesting itself, its loves and ambitions, its manifold purposes, and above all its power. But we are mistaken. There is no reason for believing that consciousness can produce any physical change, and hence all these things have gone on without any control from the mental side. Human history reduces to a vast product of automatism into which neither thought nor feeling has entered. A man leaving his house on a raw and gusty day puts on his hat and overcoat and takes an umbrella. The common and crude conception of the matter is that he takes these things because he foresees a need, and, foreseeing, makes provision. Nothing of the kind is true. The fact is that the environment and the nascent

motor excitations at the time were such, that a complicated set of physical changes was inaugurated which resulted in clapping the hat on the man's head, in drawing the overcoat on his back, in carrying him through the door, in raising the umbrella, and, finally, in marching off with him down the street. The entire affair, we may believe, was accompanied by the idea of the end, and by the purpose of securing it, but neither contributed any thing to the result. In truth, it is an act of pure faith to admit that they were present at all. Probably Mr. Spencer himself in uncritical moments yields to the fancy that in writing his system of philosophy his purposes and other mental states counted for something, but by his own showing he is mistaken. Considered psychically, Mr. Spencer is only an aggregate of mental states held together and produced by a certain nervous system; considered physically he is, for the looker on, a set of "nervous plexuses," which set is "the permanent internal nexus," for those mental states which constitute Mr. Spencer as a mental self. The truth is that the physical face of the unknowable, better known as matter and motion, had been passing "from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity through continuous differentiations and integrations," until at last particular sets of nervous plexuses in particular relations to the environment were organized. Divers waves of molecular motion along lines of least resistance coursed through the plexuses, resulting in the conflict of manifold nascent motor excitations, and the total outcome of the whole was that books were written, printed, read, criticised, accepted and rejected, yet without any intervention of thought whatever. Some features of the system are not inharmonious with this view, but in general it seems almost extravagant. Still it must be allowed that on Mr. Spencer's own system there is not the slightest reason for believing that he ever thought a thought, or even for believing that the series of mental states which composes his psychical self has any existence whatever. We accept Mr. Spencer only by faith. The physical face goes along by itself, and the physical face is all we can perceive. If mind were present, modifying and controlling the physical series to any extent, the case would be otherwise; but this hypothesis is sternly excluded as unscientific.

We can very vividly imagine that any Spencerian among our

readers has by this time lost all patience, and may well be in a high state of indignation at what he will call our unjust caricature; that is, the nervous plexuses and the nascent motor excitations are in that violent state of activity which appears subjectively as indignation. But we reply that our statements are no caricature, they are only an unfolding of the plainest implications of the doctrine. If the theory be true, these and many other equally startling propositions are true. Of course, we do not imagine that Mr. Spencer actually holds these views; neither sanity nor insanity could do that. But with Mr. Spencer's personal beliefs and inconsistencies the critic has nothing to do. The critic's function is to expound the nature and logical implications of an impersonal system, and he cannot but resent the charge that his exposition is an attack on the personal character of the author of the system he criticises. Further, he equally resents the attempt to make "indignant repudiation" and charges of caricature break the force of logic. A system stands or falls by its logic. The authors of systems may be as illogical as they choose, but a system is responsible for all that is contained in it, and if it cannot square with the facts it is doomed as a system. A strange illusion seems to have mastered our advanced scientists at this point. Having always made a strong point of logic, they suddenly begin to show contempt for it. Consistent reasoners are termed "consequence-makers," and logical consequences are called "the scare-crows of fools." When this does not suffice, they next "indignantly repudiate" the conclusions drawn from their premises. It may be well to point out here that "consequence-making" is the universal and only method of testing theories. We used to have an emission theory of light, but some "consequence-makers" pointed out that the theory had certain "logical consequences" which facts did not recognize. That theory perished from "logical consequences." We had also an electro-chemical theory of chemical action, but the "consequence-makers" got after that, and it, too, died of "logical consequences." Imagine the scorn of the scientific world if the defenders of these and other exploded theories had responded with the bravado that "logical consequences are the scare-crows of fools." But it has become a recognized part of the tactics of the advanced scientists, when the logical implica-

tions of their doctrines are pointed out, to reply with contemptuous remarks about "consequence-making," and with "indignant repudiation" of the conclusions. They distinctly teach that men are automata, but when human action is described in terms of their theory, they complain of caricature. They wish to make men machines in theory, and to deal with them as men in practice. Only upon this condition can their doctrines live at all. If human life and action were consistently described according to their view, that view would break hopelessly down at once through sheer excess of absurdity. Hence the propriety of denouncing the "consequence-makers;" hence, also, the value and necessity of "indignant repudiation." Meanwhile it will be well for consistent reasoners to point out that, as logic goes, a conclusion rightly drawn cannot be repudiated without also repudiating the premises. The syllogism is impregnable to indignation.

We suggest, therefore, to the indignant Spencerians that for once they forego repudiating and take to reasoning. But, alas! even that is impossible. There is no self-determination in thought, and reasoning is the powerless symbol of nascent motor excitations. If, then, the plexuses are set for repudiation and bad logic, out they must come. But if there were any power of self-administration in reason, and if our pluxuses would permit, we would suggest to the Spencerians the following questions: 1. In a system of physical automatism, what warrant can there be for affirming co-existent minds? 2. How can an automaton have duties? 3. In a system of automatism, what is sin? 4. What is the difference as to merit or demerit between sin and righteousness? 5. In what is a so-called wicked man morally worse than an exploding volcano? 6. What moral difference is there between a murderer and the dagger which he uses? 7. What can the new ethics effect in a system where the physical series goes along by itself, and, in going, determines the mental order? 8. Dare we admit that there is no moral difference between sin and righteousness? 9. If our system destroys all moral distinctions, should we not admit and avow it, under favor, of course, of the plexuses? 10. If our system leaves moral distinctions as valid as ever, is there not some better way of proving it than

by whining about theological bigotry and misrepresentation? If there were a power of self-control in men, we should really insist upon an answer to these questions; but as there is no such power, we expect no relevant answer. The disciples will probably be carried off by the nascent motor excitations into irrelevant moral exhortation, indignant repudiation, and the like. Still, we are not entirely without hope, for the unknowable does not seem absolutely to have set its face against considering the question. We cannot, of course, claim any more self-control for ourselves than we allow for others, though in setting these questions we seem to have done so. The fact is, that the nascent motor excitations have jotted down the questions, and this leads us to hope that they will also permit a relevant answer. Unfortunately, the last clause smacks of the superstition of freedom; for it speaks of the excitations as permitting an answer, as if the answer could come from another quarter. The nascent motor excitations must themselves give the answer. But to whom? We are hampered still by inherited fetters. We have spoken of ourselves as setting questions and hoping for answers, etc.; but this language shows traces of the superstition of a substantial personality. We do not hope, we are the hope; and if an answer were given we should not receive it, we should be it. Alas! that language should be so saturated with falsehood as to be incapable of expressing the truth without betraying it. Perhaps it will be well while considering these questions to inquire, also, if rationality itself does not imply self-control and self-determination.

Doubtless the Spencerian's nascent motor excitations are still in the state corresponding to indignation and to the ideas of caricature, slander, and so on. But the fundamental reality of which we are only a "face," or mask, or modification, protests through our nascent motor excitations that it has neither caricatured nor slandered the system. The same high authority declares that it is ready to cancel all it has said as soon as it is shown to be no implication of the leading doctrines of the system; but until then it insists that the conclusions shall stand. It further avows that not one word has been uttered as sarcasm or ridicule; its only aim has been to secure a logical exposition of certain principles which form the foundation of the new philosophy. It also cheerfully admits that Mr. Spencer may be

an aggregate of the most lovable mental states and the most charming inconsistencies; but it points out that these matters are not in dispute. The one and only question is, What is the logical outcome of a certain impersonal system? And, finally, it adds that even when logical consequences seem absurd, to state them is not to ridicule the system, any more than to state the untenable consequences of the emission-theory of light is to ridicule it. Backed by this high authority of the fundamental reality, we venture to point out that the human mind in general, the inner face of the unknowable, is so constituted that the nascent motor excitations which produce the idea of automatism will not combine with those which produce the ideas of responsibility and demerit; and it is further so constituted that where the former set get the mind to themselves, the resulting nascent motor excitations are apt to be of a kind which would be described in the obsolete terminology of the past as earthly, sensual, devilish. In the common mind the idea of automatism explodes the idea of duty and cancels all sense of responsibility. Now, if a consistent reasoner were possible, it would be his duty either to reconcile these antitheses or to abandon one or the other. Mr. Spencer has done neither. His nascent motor excitations have borne him off to write, or, rather, they themselves have written of ethics without considering whether and how ethics is possible. Still the outcome is as good as could be expected. The treatise is the product of a series of nervous changes, and there is no warrant for believing that any state of consciousness can produce any physical change. Thought, then, having had nothing to do with its production, one cannot wonder at occasional marks of thoughtlessness. On the contrary, it is really surprising that the plexuses have done so well. That they have not done better is a part of the misery of being; that they have not ground out better logic is one of the pessimistic features of existence. There seems to be an innate irrationality in the unknowable which forbids consistency. Formerly, when engaged in theology, it was notoriously illogical, and it does not seem to have improved now that it has taken to philosophy. If ever we looked longingly toward the new era, it was from the belief that there we might be logical and be at peace. The new era has arrived, and has been received with all the honors; but, sadly enough, bad logic still reigns supreme.

Rationalism is as odious a nuisance in the new faith as it ever was in the old; and the methods of dealing with it are the same, namely, indignant repudiation and the like. Alas! that it should always be naughty and wicked to ask questions. We thought we might ask any question when the new ethics should arrive.

The ethics of evolution is based on the conception of physical automatism. Why, then, are not duty, responsibility, and guilt, empty words? And if empty words, why should we as rational beings regard them? The illusory idea of freedom is at the bottom of these "pseudo-ideas," and they disappear with it. These are crucial questions of ethical theory. Already many are using the positions of the new ethics as a reason for relaxing moral restraint, and ominous mutterings are coming from the under-strata of society. But we have our theory to maintain; and what can we do with the questions? Nothing is easier. Since we cannot answer them, and since we dare not avow the conclusions of logic in the premises, and since we hate to abandon our theory, let us escape the difficulty by judiciously and colossally ignoring the whole subject. If we next add a few remarks about altruism and a bit of commonplace moral exhortation, we can safely trust to the average dullness, not only to overlook the sleight-of-hand, but even to defend us against the critic. To help on this good end, while we make men machines in theory, we must be very careful to deal with them as men in practice; and above all, we must resent as slanderous all demands that we shall not use language which has a meaning only in a system we reject. Certainly we have as much right to our common language as our opponents. Finally, let the critics be repudiated with great firmness, yet kindly, and more in sorrow than in anger, taking care always to remark that this hardness of the critical heart has been foreseen and forgiven, and success will be complete. Of course there is a kind of brutal hard-sense in those seeking an excuse for moral laxity which will not be deceived with such chaff; but, then, the wicked have always been a great embarrassment in every theory.

We pass now to consider some of the specific features of Mr. Spencer's ethics. Ethics he regards as the science of conduct, and conduct is an adjustment of the individual to his surroundings. Conduct is distinguished from action in general by be-

ing limited to action performed with purpose, but this is a logical inconsequence. Purpose in this sytem has nothing to do with action. By viewing conduct as adjustment, it is brought into line with his definition of life and mind, and is made to appear as only the highest form of a process essential to all organic existence. The process is simply the adjustment of inner relations to outer relations. In the "Principles of Biology" this simple formula is made to exhaust the significance of animal life in all its forms. In the "Principles of Psychology" it is extended to include all mental phenomena. In the "Data of Ethics" it is made to cover conduct. The formula has been worked out with great apparent thoroughness, and it has so impressed many minds of an inert and passive type that they view it as a magnificent generalization, scarcely, if at all, inferior in significance and indicated genius to Newton's discovery of the law of gravitation. The formula is indifferently given as the adjustment of inner relations to outer relations, and as the correspondence of inner relations to outer relations. We may get some idea of the apparent thoroughness from the fact that eleven chapters are devoted to its exposition in relation to mind. When food drifts against a polyp's tentacles, they contract, the polyp is fed and lives. This is one of the lowest and simplest forms of correspondence, or adjustment. It is direct and homogeneous. The squirrel, acting as if he foresaw the winter, gathers a store of nuts and thus lives till spring. Here the correspondence is vastly more extended than in the previous case, but it is still a correspondence. Finally the man adjusts his thoughts to the movements of the seasons, of the stars, and by mastering nature's laws he reads the past, and foresees and provides for the future. Here the adjustment, or correspondence, is of the most complex and far-reaching type, but it is still correspondence. It is of essentially the same character as that first movement of the polyp's tentacles in response to external excitation. It is throughout an adjustment of inner relations to outer relations. It is easy to see that conduct comes under the same lead. A man who feeds his children, pays his taxes, and does not rob his neighbor, is simply adjusting himself to external relations. The outline is at once so simple and so vast as to be very imposing indeed. And yet what does this formula mean? First of all, what is meant by this adjust-

ment or correspondence? In one way or another every thing is adjusted and corresponds to every other. The chemical elements are perfectly adjusted to one another. The coal corresponds beautifully to the oxygen which consumes it. The planets correspond most wonderfully to the sun and to one another. Every atom within the grip of gravitation is adjusted with perfect accuracy to every other. The parasite is adjusted to the organism which it devours. Correspondence and adjustment of some sort are universal, and unless all correspondence is intelligence, the mental correspondence must be of a peculiar kind. If we say that the peculiarity of this adjustment is that it is a mental adjustment, the definition includes the thing. It is not, then, adjustment in general which constitutes life and mind, but the adjustment of inner relations to outer relations. But what is an inner relation on this theory? If a living, thinking being is simply a combination of physical elements which are all as external to one another as are the members of the solar system, this notion of an inner relation is a suspicious one. As applied to a living thing, it secretly recognizes a vital agent with a definite range of activity; and as applied to mind, it can only mean consciousness. Mind, then, is the adjustment of relations in consciousness to external relations. But what is a relation? Wherever there are relations, there must be things related. By internal relations Mr. Spencer seems to mean thoughts and their orders of co-existence and sequence. By external relations he seems to mean external things and their orders of co-existence and sequence. So, then, the formula for mind whittles down to the statement that mind is the adjustment of thoughts, and their order, to things, and their order; or, more briefly, it is the adjustment of thought to thing. With this clearing up, the eleven chapters devoted to the elaboration of the idea of adjustment or correspondence reduce to the commonplace statement that our knowledge of reality grows from more to more. The air of awe and mystery which attends the use of unfamiliar terms for familiar things of course vanishes, but the meaning is the same. It is also plain that the formula contains an implicit abandonment of the theory that thought is only the powerless symbol of the physical series, for if that series goes along by itself, then the absence of thought, to say nothing of its maladjustment, would

be physically without significance. To bring in thought as effective cancels the physical completeness of the system, and to leave it out cancels the formula. That the formula has a different meaning when applied to life is evident. Its apparent identity for life and mind is due to the use of terms which are made to include every thing by excluding all definite meaning. Knowledge cannot fail to be unspeakably advanced by formulas of this kind.

In addition to this vagueness, a glaring defect of the formula, as has been ably pointed out by Dr. James, ("Journal for Speculative Philosophy," January, 1878,) is, that it takes account of the mind as knowing only, and not as feeling, or as moral, religious, and esthetic. For the development of this point we refer the reader to the paper in question. We next point out that nothing has been said as to how the adjustment is secured. Do the thoughts adjust themselves, or do the outer relations first produce the inner, and then adjust them? The latter is Mr. Spencer's view. Any other, he thinks, shows an insufficient belief in causation. To hold that his thought and purpose have had any influence on his philosophy would show an imperfect appreciation of causation. But when are inner relations adjusted to outer? In some sense they are always adjusted; hence by adjusted we must mean rightly adjusted. But what is a right adjustment? Here appears one of the most curious features of Mr. Spencer's system. The test of right adjustment is in every case survival, and true thoughts and right conduct are simply such as lead to continued existence. The ill-adjusted or non-corresponding animal dies, and the ill-adjusted mind also perishes. Although neither we nor our thoughts have any power over physical changes, yet when our thoughts are maladjusted the organism comes in conflict with reality, and destruction results. Survival is the only test of adjustment, and hence of truth and righteousness. Mr. Spencer assumes that there must be survival, and he often speaks almost as if it were a necessary aim with the unknowable, to secure the continuance of the organic world. At this point he borders on Hartmann's doctrine of the unconscious world-force which has aims without knowing any thing about them. Mr. Spencer recognizes ends in the most liberal fashion. He speaks (page 171) of "the naturally revealed end

toward which the power manifested throughout evolution works." The individual and the species must live, and mind and morals are both brought in as means to this end, although it is hard to see how they could help the matter, since they affect nothing in the physical series. The individual could not live if it failed to correspond, hence the need of mind. The species could not continue without moral order, hence the need of ethics. In truth, Mr. Spencer's system is teleological through and through. From the conception of physical survival as an end he has deduced the need and thus the fact of mind and morals, and both are what they are because of the peculiar demands made upon them by the conditions of survival. Had these been different, truth and righteousness would have been different. Hence our conceptions in mind and morals properly express nothing but the conditions of survival. Where these conditions have not been observed, life and thought have come quickly to an end. Survival has been possible only along certain lines, and by heredity the thoughts and conduct fitted to secure it have been integrated and transmitted until at last our mental laws and moral instincts have been built up. To us they appear as first truths; but, in fact, they express only the conditions of existence. This principle is throughout assumed, but it is not as explicitly stated as we could wish. If utility is to be taken as the test and measure of truth, the belief in God, retribution, the future life, and even in Christianity, would make a respectable show. But as these beliefs do not agree with our own, it may be well to keep the principles for strictly private use. Indeed, if natural selection be the determining principle of belief, the faith of the future will not be materialism, atheism, agnosticism, or deism, but Christianity; for all other beliefs are relatively depressing and demoralizing.

Mr. Spencer's ethics is little more than an exposition of this conception. If the individual should perish, the species would also perish; for it exists only in the individual. Hence there must be egoism. But pure egoism would make society, and thus the individual, impossible; hence there must be altruism. Pure altruism, on the other hand, by condemning all egoism, would lead to non-survival. Hence there must be "conciliation" and "compromise." We must be neither too egoistic nor too

altruistic. In all things the golden mean seems to be the rule of life which will most probably lead to survival.

This view is interesting from its novelty. Never before was there a system so amazingly teleological. Much as Aristotle and Leibnitz made of the notion of final cause, they still admitted some things as unconditionally true and right, or as such without any reference to an end. But with Mr. Spencer the true and the right are conditioned entirely by their relation to the particular end of survival. It is not entirely plain what would become of many scientific and philosophic speculations if they were tested by this standard; and as we have an interest in both, we forbear to inquire. Another interesting feature of the theory is, that its possibility is a striking testimony to the truth that "the power, not ourselves, makes for righteousness." Whether we regard the laws of righteousness as expressing only the conditions of existence, or as the expressions of an august and holy Will, in either case we admit that they are our life. But as a moral theory, apart from the author's fatalism which reduces all theories to necessary impertinences, this view is lamentably imperfect. In the first place, the scheme will have no authority at all with one who does not recognize physical survival as the end of conduct. On the one hand, the Christian and the theist insist that there are things better than living, and other things worse than dying. The law of righteousness must never be abandoned, though the fagots be gathered and the instruments of torture be spread. This conviction has left indelible marks in human history; indeed, pretty much all that is noble and reverend in history has sprung from it. On the other hand, the pessimist will repudiate survival as an end, alleging that he sees no value in the end. Considering the misery and irrationality of being, he thinks that non-survival would be vastly more desirable. To Mr. Spencer's claim that we must survive, he answers that he knows of no such need. To the threat that failure to adjust or correspond will lead to destruction, he replies that such a consummation is devoutly to be wished. Mr. Spencer points out that moral principles are necessities of social equilibrium; and the pessimist replies that he sees no necessity for social equilibrium. If there were any essential sacredness in righteousness, or any inalienable obligation, he might think otherwise; but since it is only a matter of survival or non-survival,

he inclines to non-survival as the most desirable. It may be said that no moral theory can do any thing with a pessimist; but it is also true that some theories lead directly to pessimism, and to abandon them is to discharge the pessimism. One need not be incorrigible in order to deduce pessimism from fatalistic materialism. Mr. Spencer seems to have no conception of the spread of pessimism since the dawn of advanced science. He has always been such an ardent apostle of progress as to forget to inquire whether the progress was worth having. Others have made the inquiry. The world turns out to be only a large machine which has ground us into being, and which, after having tortured us awhile to no purpose, will grind us to powder. Goodness is due to the viscera. There is nothing reverend or noble in existence. We have nothing to be proud of, for the viscera have managed every thing. We have nothing to hope for except annihilation, and even that will not come until the bungling mechanism has racked and mangled and butchered us. We can only stand at bay and wait for the end. This being the case, men are beginning to sneer at progress. The very word is greeted with moody and scornful laughter. Reason will no longer be stupefied with the cordials and soothing syrups of the apostles of progress; and men are growing indignant at the apostles' attempts to cover up the death's-head which grins horribly through all their theories. And so they stand up and swear that the world is worse than none. A ghastly and haggard pessimism is rapidly seizing upon all the earnest minds in the ranks of advanced scientists. They see clearly that whoever may have words of eternal life, the new science and the new philosophy have them not. But of this state of affairs, Mr. Spencer seems not to have the least conception. In spite of his fatalism, in spite of his materialism, in spite of the annihilation toward which the race is hurrying, he still pipes and sings of "that grand progress which is bearing humanity onward to a higher intelligence and a nobler character."

A second defect of Mr. Spencer's ethical theory is that, from making success the standard of right, it leaves the question of right forever open or forever subject to revision. Taken in strictness, it would say that we do not know the right until the event has declared itself. It would then always be allowable for us to do our utmost to make our side succeed. The right

and the wrong would thus appear as two advocates between whom we could not decide until the case had decided itself. We could not even call them right and wrong in advance, for the problem is to know which is which. Pending the decision each side might properly do its utmost for success. Mr. Spencer might give two answers to this objection. First, he might fall back on his fatalism, as making such an indecision impossible; but this solution would be very expensive, for it would reduce all moral theories to a farce. He might next say that this case has been debated through the ages. The survival of the fittest has been nothing but such a debate, and hence it is quite too late for us to think of re-opening the question. But even this answer fails to meet the case. We know that the unknowable has gone on changing its opinions on various matters; and who shall assure us that it has made up its mind in morals? And even if the so-called wrong has failed thus far, how do we know that it always will? Mr. Spencer expresses a great and just indignation at the conduct of the British government toward the tribes and nations of Asia and Africa. He glows at times with such fervor as to lead to the fear that he secretly believes in God and eternal righteousness. Yet, gratifying as this moral enthusiasm is, it is a logical inconsequence. For England has succeeded, and why, then, is not her conduct right? May we not see in such success an indication that the unknowable has no settled scheme of morality? And on this theory, why should not England, in fixing her Asiatic and African policy, settle the question by comparing her military strength with that of the other side? Our own trouble with the Indians arises largely from imagining that right is independent of survival; but it is becoming plain that the unknowable is bent on rooting them out, and why should we not lend a hand? The shortest cut to social equilibrium in this case would seem to be extermination. Mr. Spencer has no valid answer to these objections. The outcome of his view is Spinoza's position that right is measured by power, and this, in turn, is only another form of Hobbes' doctrine that might makes right. Would some Spencerian mind showing us how the theory can fairly escape this conclusion?

To the common conscience, Mr. Spencer's ethics is especially obnoxious on account of its low tone. This low pitch is due to the fact that he is bound to get all his sanctions from the

earthly life. When this limited view is combined with the doctrine that happiness is the only source of obligation, the result is a theory of duty which is very flat and uninspiring. The earlier selfish systems of morals are generally abandoned in theory, and all moralists feel called upon to insist upon the duty of self-sacrifice for the good of the many. The result is that all utilitarian systems have great trouble to get any rational basis for the duty of self-sacrifice. Our own conviction is that the selfish systems have been theoretically too much decried. There is an element of truth in them which must be taken into account. A reasonable self-love, as Butler calls it, is as much justified as any altruistic principle of action. But in our revolt against selfishness we have overlooked this fact, and have failed to reflect upon the postulates of self-sacrifice as a duty. If we may not assume that the interests of the one and the many are at bottom identical, there is no justice in sacrificing the one to the many. Mr. Spencer recognizes this, and aims to show that a wise egoism leads to altruism and conversely a wise altruism will lead to egoism. Thus there is "conciliation," and "compromise," and survival is secured. Unfortunately in the actual world this view does not always apply. In a vague, general way, it is valid, but when applied to the details of life it is unsufficient. How shall we reconcile egoism and altruism when it is a question of carrying help into a yellow-fever district, or when life is worn away in caring for the helpless and useless? If there were some outlook upon the heavenly and the eternal the solution would be easy, but when one is dead forever, it is hard to see how the "compromise" is possible. Compromise can be effected only while both parties are alive. Theoretically there is no escape for the Spencerian from admitting that when the law of duty brings us into such straits as these, we may rightly draw back. Indeed, Mr. Spencer rather boasts that he has made ethics pleasant. The current views of duty are stern, severe, and forbidding. He aims to show a more excellent way. And it must be allowed that his doctrines are not pitched in a heroic key. In a theoretical world of tame, well-meaning people they might suffice, but they are too mild and insipid altogether for the actual world and its abnormal relations. They are the ethics of the well-fed and prosperous. Of the tragical issues between

right and wrong, of the terrible dilemmas of conscience, they say nothing. They do not suffice for the half-starved operative, or the terribly-tempted man of business. The hero and the martyr would look in vain to them for inspiration, and dark temptations to hidden crime find in them no barrier. Perhaps Mr. Spencer would say that his ethics is only meant for a normal order, and express only the conditions of the ideal moral state, but in that case we are left without any ethics for the actual and abnormal. What are we tempted men and women to do here and now, where faithfulness often means loss and ruin, and where death is forever putting an end to all chances to "compromise?" We need guidance for our own action, and not for the good time coming. We believe, indeed, with Mr. Spencer, that the laws of righteousness are the conditions of social equilibrium, and in general of individual well-being. But while man endures men are dying, and in the present abnormal state of affairs the law of duty is often too large for earthly comfort. The Greek and Roman moralists saw this clearly. Aristotle has pointed out that virtue may lead to the "last things," to shame and torture and death, and, having no outlook upon the heavenly, he wavers as to what should be done in these extremities. What shall we do when, from an earthly stand-point, duty does not pay? Here is one of the antinomies of conscience. Reason and conscience alike insist that no law can be binding which does not exist for the good of all its subjects. When, then, duty appears too large for our earthly comfort, there is but one alternative: Either we must enlarge the life to fit the law, or we must cut down the law to fit the life. Christianity and the great masters in morals do the former. Mr. Spencer ought to do the latter; but in general he ignores all these deeper questions and offers his sweetened-water theories with the most blissful confidence in their sufficiency. It would not be surprising, however, if some Spencerian should flame out at this point with some of the old-fashioned intuitional morality, and should affirm the eternal sacredness of duty apart from any consideration of consequences or of length of life; but such an exhibition would only be a new example of the illogical ways of the plexuses and the nascent motor excitations.

Thus we have outlined Mr. Spencer's ethical teachings.

Upon the whole, we cannot think highly of them. The old epigram applies perfectly, the new is not good, and the good is not new. But by the aid of an inflated terminology he has succeeded in giving an air of novelty to familiar commonplaces. He has made some excellent, and more mistaken, criticisms of other ethical views. If when he had finished he had directed the same critical attention upon his own theory, the results would have been highly beneficial. The "Data of Ethics" would probably have remained unpublished, that is, of course, if the plexuses and the nascent motor excitations would have let logic have its way. Perhaps in another article we may attempt some detailed criticism, under favor, that is, of the editor as well as of the excitations.

Art. III. — THE FRENCH REFORMED CHURCH, ITS SYNOD OF 1872 AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]*

In our preceding article we saw the opening of the National Synod convoked by the decree of November 29, 1872. At present we shall briefly consider the proceedings of the Synod, the subsequent attitude of the two parties in the Church, and the recent *status* of French Protestantism in the matter of education and evangelization, with a word concerning its prospects.

I. The Debates and Conclusions of the Synod.

Besides the official report, we have from M. Bersier a valuable account of these proceedings.† The session of the Synod extended from June 6 to July 10. Aside from the details of a new organic law, three main questions arose for determination. First, The competency of the present Synod to act as the supreme authority of the Church. Second, The propriety of formulating a Confession of Faith, and the terms of such Confession. Third, The obligatory character of the Confession and the religious qualification of electors. We are chiefly interested in the treatment of these points.

* It is to be observed that this Article is printed as it was written in Oct., 1879.

† *Histoire du Synode General de l'Eglise Réformé de France. Paris, 6 Juin—10 Juillet*, 1872. Eugène Bersier.

1. The discussion of the first question was introduced by the presentation of a declaration from the consistory of Lyons, signed also by forty-two Liberal delegates, to the effect that since the present Synod was constituted by elections from the several consistories on a basis of numerical inequality, the first and only duty of the Synod was to provide for a new election on a more equitable plan; and that, therefore, no supreme judicial authority could be accorded to the Synod in any action it might take, the establishment of a Confession of Faith being least of all within its province. It was asserted that one consistory, that of Paris, embraced thirty thousand persons, while some others numbered not over six hundred; that twenty-seven consistories, embracing one hundred and sixty thousand Protestants, were not represented; that the Law of Germinal having made no mention of National Synods, virtually abolished them, and that, at all events, the system of synodal government had lapsed by desuetude.

On the other hand, it was argued that the decree of convocation had done well in respecting the original rights of the separate consistories or individual presbyterial bodies, notwithstanding imperfections which might exist in the proportional allowance of delegates; and that it was not the Protestant population, in a civil sense, which constituted the Church, as claimed by the Left. M. Laurens affirmed that the silence of the Law of Germinal concerning the National Synods could not be construed into an abolition of them, the former discipline of the Church being in that document specially recognized; that "on the very day when the government pronounced the moment as opportune for the convocation of a National Synod, the Reformed Church then found itself in full possession of its ancient and complete organization;" that, in point of legal form, the law of 1802 and the decree of March 26, 1852, being the only basis, the decree of November 29, convoking the Synod, plants itself on both these enactments, and is, therefore, "whether in principle, or form, or intent, as perfectly legal as any thing can possibly be." As the result, an "order of the day," which treated the calling of the Synod as a recognition of the "liberty and autonomy of the Reformed Church of France in religious matters," and asserted the supreme authority of the Synod under Government over the con-

stitution of the Church, including the power to modify the electoral system, was adopted by a vote of sixty-one to forty-five.

2. In reference to the second question, M. Bois had presented on the third day for adoption the following Confession of Faith: "At the moment when she takes up the continuity of her Synods, interrupted for so many years, the Reformed Church of France feels above all things the need of returning thanks to God, and of testifying her love to Jesus Christ her divine head, who has upheld and comforted her during the course of her trials. She declares by the organ of her representatives that she remains constant to the principles of faith and liberty on which she was founded. With her fathers and martyrs in the Confession of La Rochelle, with all the Churches of the Reformation in their different creeds, she proclaims the sovereign authority of the Holy Scriptures in matters of faith, and salvation by faith in Jesus Christ, Only Son of God, who died for our offenses and was raised again for our justification. She, therefore, preserves and maintains at the basis of her teaching, her worship, and her discipline, the grand Christian facts represented in her sacraments, celebrated in her religious solemnities, and expressed in her liturgies, notably in the Confession of Sins, the Apostles' Creed, and the Liturgy of the Lord's Supper."

This was the brief and moderate expression of the evangelical faith which the party of the Right undertook to defend, and finally contented itself to affirm. In view of the fact that the majority of the Synod would probably insist upon some doctrinal declaration, the Left at once came forward, in the person of M. Gaufrès, with a substitute for the above confession, to the effect that, "as taught by the Fathers a true knowledge of the Gospel is to be found in the sacred Scriptures," and that "the existing divergencies of belief should not be allowed to break the unity of the Church, where all were following the same source of light, the Bible; and all found there the same Master, Jesus Christ; the same Father—God, who invites all to the one hope of eternal life and the one pursuit of moral perfection." The Left Center presented a proposition which differed from this simply in a more distinct affirmation of the divine Sonship of Christ. Certain amendments to the proposition of M. Bois were also suggested from the Liberal side. Petitions were presented from different consistories,

synods, and pastoral conferences on this subject, containing very diverse views.

The position of the Liberals was defended with great ability, the arguments of the speakers being chiefly directed against the adoption of any formal creed regarded as obligatory. The proposition of M. Bois was also specially criticised. M. Pécaut affirmed that the chief interest of the Reformed Church at the present day was the avoidance of schism and the destructive effects which would necessarily follow continuous divisions; that Protestantism is truly preserved only by securing the individual independence of all human authority in the study of morals and revelation. To undertake to make a formula of faith obligatory would be but to repeat the futile attempts of former councils and synods to determine the position of the columns of Hercules, which has been as often unsettled. A national Church, properly considered, is neither a sect nor a sacramental institution, but a community of fellow-countrymen, where we may heartily sympathize in religious sentiment and co-operate with a multitude of persons who differ from us in opinion. M. Clamageran, a lawyer, made a historical plea, asserting that the Reformed Church grew rapidly and with a prospect of large success in France, from 1521 to 1559, without a formal dogmatic union; and that with the adoption of a creed the vigorous life of the Reformation was arrested. He also argued that dogmatic formulas could not preserve a people from the intrusions of error; that they gave occasions for hypocritical professions of faith, and only tended, within the pale of Protestantism, to the multiplication of sects.

No one spoke on the Liberal side with more solid ability than M. Fontanès. Having criticised M. Bois' proposition, not very forcibly, indeed, as being devoid of clearness, adaptability to popular comprehension and genuine life, he proceeded to assert that diversity of opinion in the Church was rather to be welcomed as a proof of the ennoblement of the individual, the intensity of his religious, and sincerity of his mental, life. Religion is a sentiment of the soul and not a conviction of the intellect. Dogma is only secondary, the product of reflection, and cannot be proposed as the condition of religious life. We should guard against making a breach upon the spirit of morality by weakening the power of individual belief. The apostles

had the tact to preserve the unity of the Church in their time, notwithstanding the prevailing diversities of opinion. In the attempt to secure dogmatic unity, the venerable traditions and powerful organization of the Vatican have always the advantage. "If you would achieve," said M. Fontanès, "a grand success, and offer an asylum to humanity weary of this ritual and dogmatic Christianity, which seem to stand as an obstacle to civilization, form a Church of liberty, of love; a Church which promotes union rather than division. France has lost its faith in Catholic dogmas, but is not yet freed from the spirit of Catholicism; offer to it a grand example of liberality and sympathy; bring healing to the country by demonstrating your respect for liberty of conscience."

M. A. Coquerel spoke with his usual vivacity. He affirmed that there have always been Liberals in the Church, while they have especially asserted their presence during the last seventy years, since the legal reconstruction. "For my part," said he, "I have assumed but one obligation, that of preaching the gospel according to my conscience." The faith of the Liberals is as intense and as living as that of the Evangelicals. Their number is also very considerable, even in the Churches called Orthodox. Schism should be especially shunned and dreaded in the existing political crisis, in presence of the two enemies, the Romish Church and the Germans. M. Colani showed an intellect equally ready, but accompanied by greater learning and more penetrating in matter of criticism. He charged that the Orthodox party, in the proposition they had presented, had manifestly departed from the faith of the Fathers. The doctrine of predestination, the key-stone of the ancient arch, appears no more. Here is no mention of the Trinity, none of the divinity of Christ in the sense of the Nicene Creed. As to the doctrine of salvation, how is the statement to be understood? What does Paul mean precisely by the term, "raised again for our justification?" One passage in St. Paul's writing has had, indeed, three hundred and twenty-one interpretations put upon it. As to the Scriptures, the doctrine of literal interpretation is abandoned, and the proposition limits their authority to "matters of faith." But who determines what are "matters of faith." "I remain," said he, "in your Church; yes, in the Reformed Church of France, constituted as you are about to

constitute it. I remain there by the same title as you yourselves, while denying every article of your Confession of Faith; and I remain even in the name of that Confession, since it declares itself submissive to the authority of the Scriptures, freely interpreted." It is a new thing to take the liturgies and sacraments as the basis of doctrine. The liturgy in general use is that of Geneva, which is pervaded by the spirit of the materializing philosophers, of the friends of Rousseau, and so destitute of the old orthodoxy that the men of the revival period did not cease to protest against it. The liturgies, moreover, have always been used with freedom, and have never been considered binding. M. Colani boldly disputed the miraculous facts asserted in the Apostles' Creed, and called the question of the physical resurrection of Christ "a Byzantine problem." In like manner M. Fontanès had asked, "How can the destiny of the corpse of Jesus Christ be a matter of vital concern for us?" Thus the extreme Liberal leaders made known the spirit of radical unbelief which animated them.

If the speeches uttered on the part of the Right were less brilliant than those of their opponents, they were, nevertheless, generally sound and reasonable. M. De l'Hombres replied to the principal charge of M. Colani, that "theological formulas may vary without altering the substance of belief," and that the present aim of the Right was simply to formulate the fundamental principles of a religious society. M. Bastie affirmed that the attempt to make sentiment the supreme bond of unity was absurd, since our sentiments are determined by our ideas, and that the body of the Church membership have a right to protect themselves against pastors who are at war with the ideas which have determined the whole religious current of their lives. M. Pernessin, a laymen, found the Liberals of the day to be not Protestants but Neo-Protestants. A Protestant, down to 1864, had been defined as one who exercised liberty of examination under the authority of Scripture; but the opposite party were now placing their reason above Scripture. In place of the fear of the Catholics or of any other enemy with which M. Coquerel had sought to alarm us, let us put the fear of God, and be guided by it alone. M. Delmas drew attention to the vigor of Protestantism in Scotland and the United States, where standards of faith had constituted the

bond of denominational life. Indeed, the radical scheme could produce only moral impotency and the ultimate decadence of all religious power.

M. Guizot entered into the discussion in all the dignity of his character as a statesman and a philosopher. He took occasion to defend himself against the accusation of yielding to Romanizing tendencies in the opinions he had published concerning the temporal power of the Pope. While charitable toward Catholicism and its mission in France, and liberal in his treatment at the present session of the party of the Left, he yet showed himself an earnest believer in the ancient faith of Protestantism. The presence of the Synod and the sight of the open Bible above the seat of the moderator, suggested to him the grand associations of the past. "And have we gathered here," he said, "to form a new society, to proclaim a new faith? This I have not supposed for one moment." There can be no religious society without a common faith; a truth which has been manifested at every epoch and under the most diverse conditions. This common faith must be a faith in the supernatural. The greatest philosophers, as Socrates and Plato, have no more been able to found and maintain a religion by their philosophical principles alone than have statesmen such as Cæsar and Marcus Aurelius, by their power.

M. Bois finally appeared to defend his proposition and the right as well as duty of the Synod to give a formal expression to its faith. His address was remarkably able and persuasive. The Liberals, he said, claim a liberty for the pastor to speak as he pleases; but what of the rights of the laity, who, if they remain in the Church are compelled to listen? What is here claimed but the absolute omnipotence of the clergy, the very negation of the Protestant principle? There may be thus as many doctrines as preachers, which is division without limit. Changes introduced into the liturgies are illustrative of the same spirit of division. It is not a mere shadow of differences which separate the two parties in this discussion, but all the difference there is between truth and error. The natural and supernatural theories of religion are diametrically opposed. The right of rational examination of the Scriptures is granted; but "if such examination led me," said M. Bois, "to any other result than devout submission to the word of God, I should no

longer call myself a Christian." It is true, there are differences of opinion among us as to the mode of inspiration; but "one belief dominates, for us of the Right, over all this discussion, namely: There is a supernatural revelation from God made to the human race, and the Bible is the book inspired with this revelation. 'Is that statement equivocal?" We are accused of using simple, popular, and indefinite terms in our proposition; but how great would have been the complaint had we used metaphysical terms! Christ is here called "the only begotten Son of God," by which expression his divinity is affirmed without entering into the metaphysical question of his precise relation in the essence of his being to the Father. We appeal to the liturgies as containing the expression of our faith to-day, because history would search for it in these rather than in the discourses of this or that pastor. It is not our object to decree, but simply to affirm definitely, the actual faith of our Church. This it is our duty to do. We do not pretend to give a full expression, but to state its essential points. "The fundamental question which separates the two parties is this: Is there, or is there not, a supernatural revelation from God? We want to determine whether Christianity is that revelation or not, and whether the Reformed Church which has hitherto professed Christianity desires to change its religion." The proposition of M. Bois, with a slight verbal modification, was adopted, June 20, by a vote of sixty-one to forty-five, as a formal expression of the present faith of the Church.

3. The question of making subscription to the Confession of Faith obligatory upon the pastors occupied three days, and involved a repetition of some of the points already made on either side. M. Laurens reported from the committee the proposition that "every candidate for the sacred ministry must declare, before receiving consecration, that he adheres to the faith of the Church as it has been determined by the General Synod."

M. Martin Paschoud, in opposing the proposition, said that, while the Church remained the same, its government, rules, and usage had changed. Such was the case with France itself, which was no longer the France of Henry II. The proposition contained the spirit of the ancient discipline; but Samuel Vincent had said that, "to put into effect the ancient discipline

and Confession of Faith in the present era, would be a radical revolution, and nothing less than the annihilation of religion." M. Gaufrès compared the proposed action to that of the late Vatican Council, which had silenced its own liberal party by the decree of papal infallibility. He had rather hoped that the essential aim of the Reformation would be here cherished, in delivering Christianity from the yoke of ecclesiastical bondage.

In defense of the requirement, and in denial of the charge that its enforcement would naturally promote hypocrisy in the clergy, M. Delmas appealed again forcibly to the example of the Churches of Scotland and America. "Ah! gentlemen," said he, "that grand Anglo-Saxon race, educated by such Churches, has not been the nourisher of the Machiavels and the Tartuffes; but has rather displayed the most lofty examples of sincerity which the world has ever seen." Without some such requirement, to what vagaries shall we not be exposed? A highly respected Liberal pastor has even announced that, if he came to believe in the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, he would preach it in his Church. M. Bois, in like manner, set forth the absurdity of the assumption that the pastor could justly perform his functions, and maintain harmony in the Church, while he is allowed free utterance for every change of opinion. "To-day Jesus Christ is represented as having died for our offenses; to-morrow, as having died only like all martyrs for the faith. To-day, he is raised for our justification; to-morrow, he remains in the tomb. To-day, the Scriptures are our rule of faith; to-morrow, they are but a respectable book from which each one may take what counsel pleases him best. Behold this perpetual change erected into a system! And now what becomes of the flock? Poor flock, obliged to follow the strange pastor —what will become of it? Whither is it being conducted? What shall it believe?" Several substitutes were presented from the Liberal stand-point for the above form, such as, that the pastor shall engage to "respect" the main facts of Christianity as represented in the liturgies, etc.; but the original proposition prevailed by a vote of sixty-two to thirty-nine. As to the pastors already in office, their position was left untouched by this action.

Another part of the present question concerning the obligatory character of the Confession, which was determined indeed

previously to the one just treated, was the proposal of a religious qualification for the electors of the several parishes. This is the broad and important question which had found a place throughout the agitations of the last few decades, namely, that of fixing with definiteness the character of the Reformed Church as a Church of believers rather than one of the multitude. It was not, however, in the immediate aspect here presented, discussed at great length in the Synod, the interest of the times being engaged rather about the position of the pastors.

M. Gaufrès regarded the Reformed Church as traditionally a Church of the multitude, and asserted that the fathers, though subscribing freely to the Confession of Faith for two hundred years, had done so generally without the spirit of critical examination, and without that idea of the distinction between the converted and non-converted which has arisen since the religious revival of 1820. It is now proposed to form the Church of those who profess themselves actuated by a certain class of Christian sentiments in distinction from the totality of Protestants. This is contrary to the modern spirit, to the principles of a universal priesthood, and of fraternity and equality among Christians. M. Etienne Coquerel considered the present as the central question before the Synod. It is the question whether the Synod has the right to impose dogma as the test of Church membership in the national Church. If this right is admitted, why may not each Synod impose what dogma it chooses?

On the other hand, it was said that, aside from faith in the Bible, there can be no such thing as a Protestant; that the fathers, men of the Bible, were really the founders of our modern liberties; that nothing could be worse than to continue the present state of uncertainty in all that concerns the faith and character of the Church. The following regulation was finally adopted: "Such persons are electors as declare themselves heartily attached to the Reformed Church, and to the revealed truth as it is contained in the sacred books of the Old and New Testaments." The conditions of electoral capacity in other respects, both civil and ecclesiastical, were to remain as before, except that the minimum age was reduced from thirty to twenty-five, and ability to read was required of all electors after January 1, 1875.

Thus were the great questions at issue determined in favor

of the evangelical party. A minor proposition urged by the Liberals was that providing for a division of the consistory of Paris into two, or of establishing in the city a number of independent presbyterial councils. This idea had been broached long before, and was ably combated in the Synod, especially by M. Mettetal, and rejected. The scheme was designed to counteract the existing predominance of the Orthodox party in Paris, and would probably enable their opponents to capture the position in detail. There was no reason, it was said, for making Paris, in this way, an exception to other cities; and, from the relative location of the different classes in the several quarters of the city, such a division would be peculiarly inappropriate and disastrous to the interests of Protestantism. The authority of M. Coquerel, père, was quoted in support of this view.

The formal details of the Organic Articles and the Regulations to be established under sanction of the present Synod were fixed without much difficulty. The presbyterial councils which had been re-established by the law of 1852 are retained as subordinate to the consistories. The pastor, who must be a Frenchman by birth, twenty-five years of age, and possessed of a bachelor's degree from some one of the theological faculties recognized by the government, is nominated by the council, subject to the veto power of the consistory and ultimate appeal to the Provincial and General Synod. The council, consisting of the chief and assistant pastors in each parish, with a certain proportionate number of elders, is renewable by one half every three years. The consistory, embracing all the pastors within its jurisdiction, and a number of laymen elected from the councils double that of the pastors in chief, is renewable in entirety every three years. It determines the limits of the parishes, supervises the celebration of worship, the administration of discipline, the monetary and other affairs in the several parishes, and serves as intermediary between the council and the government, as also between the council and the Provincial Synod.

The Provincial Synod, whose territorial limit is fixed by the General Synod, is composed of as many members as there are pastors within its jurisdiction, one half being laymen, nominated by the councils, and chosen for three years. It assembles

at such time and place as it may have designated at the preceding session. It nominates to the government candidates for the chairs in the faculties of theology. The members of the General Synod are chosen every three years, after the renewal of the presbyterial councils, and by the Provincial Synods, enlarged for the purpose by the accession of all the pastors not otherwise members within their several jurisdictions, and of the laymen elected for the purpose by each council. The delegates are apportioned at the rate of one to every six pastors, and consist of pastors and laymen in equal numbers. The General Synod may assemble annually at a place designated in the preceding session. Before the close of each session a permanent Commission is appointed, composed of three pastors and four laymen, to see to the execution of special enactments, and to make all necessary provision for the next session.

It remains to notice two or three propositions acted on provisionally by the Synod. One concerned a fusion of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, with petitions to that effect from various Lutheran and Reformed bodies. Nothing more definite than an expression of general desire for such union could be formulated. M. de l'Hombres presented a report in favor of the transference of the faculty of Montauban to Paris, and the addition there of chairs to be filled by Lutherans. Various opinions on the subject were expressed. The proposition of M. Colani, that the Synod favor the transference of both the faculties of Montauban (Reformed) and Strasburg (Lutheran) to Paris, and their fusion in one, prevailed by a small vote.

Several propositions were presented on the subject of the separation of Church and State. The desire for such a result seemed to be general with both Orthodox and Liberal parties, though opinions differed as to its present practicability. M. Colani proposed that the government be petitioned to suppress the budget of all the forms of worship from January 1, 1874, and that the Synod provide for the establishment of a central treasury for the Reformed Church. The committee, M. Viguié chairman, to whom the general subject was referred, reported that it was not advisable to urge the separation of the Reformed Church from the State while the Catholic Church still enjoyed the advantages of State support; since that condition of things

would place the Catholics before the people in the attitude of being the sole national Church, and remand the Protestants to a perilous position of social inferiority. It was believed that, on the whole, the time had not yet arrived for such separation. The following conclusion of the report was adopted as the voice of the Synod: "The General Synod, regarding the reciprocal independence of Church and State as the principle suited to the constitution of modern society, and convinced that the Reformed Church of France is disposed to accept with confidence a separation from the State whenever such separation shall be made applicable by the civil authority to all forms of worship, now invites the Church to prepare itself for such a change of relations."

The Synod appointed, according to the established regulation, a permanent Commission, consisting of MM. Vernes, Bastie, and Bois, (pastors,) and MM. Cazenove, Mettetal, and Pelon, (laymen,) through whom the new constitution and discipline of the Church was to be presented to the government for its sanction, this sanction being essential to give legal force to the regulations adopted. A second session was appointed for November 15, of the same year, but through the delay of action on the part of the government it has never yet met.

We have thus endeavored to present in considerable detail, and with distinctness, the action and conclusions of the Synod of 1872, in order that the complicated affairs of the Reformed Church in France, and the events from time to time transpiring, in the present crucial period, in its relation to the State and in relation to the parties composing it, may be better understood.

II. The Subsequent Attitude of the Two Parties in the Church.

As is made apparent in our former article, the proposed convocation of the Synod was regarded with great disfavor by the Liberals; and we now find its decision, as was anticipated, conformed to the views of the Orthodox party. Such was the formal result achieved. The alarm and irritation of the Liberals, however, arose, as is well understood, from the fear that the government would actually put the new regulations in force. This they considered a positive invasion of their legal rights. The Liberal journals strongly denounced the action of the Synod,

and for several months thereafter some of the pastors of this school were engaged in exciting a spirit of opposition among the congregations. About forty consistories out of one hundred and three adopted a protest against the proceedings of the Synod. The Liberals in Paris made various movements, such as applying directly to the President for the formation of a second consistory in Paris, to involve the surrender of the Oratoire and other churches to them, and proposing to secularize the consistories in general, making them only administrative and devoid of jurisdiction in questions of doctrine.

This persistency of revolt against the Synod, as authoritative and compulsory, had been foreseen. Though the right of liberalism, in its present radical form, to any privilege in the Reformed Church was absolutely denied by some, as by M. Doumergue, editor of *Le Christianisme au XIX^e^ siècle*, yet the majority of the Orthodox party have been inclined to a lenient position; not proposing to urge the government to the use of extreme measures in applying the new electoral condition, and seeking to promote an "amicable separation" of the two parties, with a just partition of church property and government support. M. Pressensé, from his position in the Free Church, has continually pressed this view upon the Orthodox leaders. Before the assembly of the Synod he commended such a separation as the only just solution of the problem, since the Liberals held their position in the National Church by the usage of the century, and so by *historic right.* The schism will involve difficulties, and must be the precursor of a separation of the Reformed Church from the State. "But," says M. Pressensé, "whenever the religious and intellectual life has awakened in a Church, the opposing tendencies appear, and the administration inclosure becomes the arena of the hottest and most perplexing conflict, because the civil tie preserves a fictitious unity. It is the true torture of Mezentius—tying corpses face to face with living persons. When Churches reach this point there is nothing for them but to separate from the State." Several Evangelical pastoral conferences soon expressed themselves in this sense. Such separation was asked for in a letter addressed to the government by a meeting of Liberal delegates, being one third the members of the Synod held in the autumn of 1872. The following summer a body of Evangelical pastors in the

south-west petitioned the Synodal Commission to the same effect, and expressed the hope that a new Synod would declare that the regulations are not to be imposed upon such parishes as decline to accept them.

As yet the sanction of the government, so much dreaded by the Liberals, had not been rendered to the determinations of the Synod. On February 28, 1874, however, the Confession of Faith, accompanied by the new electoral conditions, was officially promulgated by the Council of State. Minister Bardoux, nevertheless, announced to the Synodal Commission that "the religious guarantees of the electorate remain beyond the sphere of the government." An official committee was appointed to provide for "difficulties of application" in the law. This action of the government was bitterly denounced by the Liberals, and the Synod called a Protestant Pope, the Confession a Syllabus.

At the elections in April for the presbyterial councils great confusion prevailed. In Paris, out of two thousand five hundred and seventy-two electors, one thousand four hundred gave in formal adhesion to the new conditions. The remainder, for the most part, voted without regard to it, claiming a legal right so to do. In the country, also, there was little uniformity. This course of things put the Reformed Church in a more perplexing attitude toward the government than ever before, which was especially a disappointment to M. Thiers and M. Simon, who had confidently hoped for a harmonious result from the Synod. In October a government decree annulled the elections which had not conformed to the new condition. The forty-two Liberal consistories thereupon expressly declined to renew the elections, and petitioned the government for an equitable separation. Without an equitable division of property and support, however, they claimed the right to remain in the Reformed Church, advocating such opinions as their "consciences" might dictate. In April they appealed from the Minister of Public Worship, who had annulled the elections, to the Council of State. Meanwhile the whole evangelical press advocated leniency and the policy of equitable division, except the leading organ, *Le Christianisme au XIX^e^ siècle*, which called upon the Liberals to submit, or else abandon the name "Reformed." The prominent Orthodox leaders,

also, seem to have influenced the government against conciliation; and, with the accessions to the Republican party in the State, in February, 1875, the opportunity for an amicable separation seems to have been lost, since a disturbance of the Liberals was now out of the question.

An apparent epoch in the complications was reached, however, when, in June, 1876, a body of delegates, called the "Pacification Committee," of the Liberal party, appointed at a Liberal conference, held in Paris in April, sought to form a compromise with the Commission of the Synod. The delegation declared itself, in a document dated June 14, "ready to accept the synodal presbyterial organization and the electoral condition; to acknowledge that the Confession of Faith is the expression of the general faith of the Church, and that the Confession cannot, either in itself or in its contents, be the object of attack by the pastors in the exercise of their functions." On its part the Synodal Commission agreed in substance to advocate at the coming Synod a modification of the ordination imposed upon the pastors, to the effect that they be simply required to read the Confession of Faith, while a change in the electoral law might be secured at the next Synod, and in any case the mode of its application was to be left to the *wisdom* of the several consistories. The Liberals at the same time agreed to withdraw their appeal to the Council of the State about the elections. This compromise was readily accepted by the Liberal Conference of Nismes, July 12, but under the express assumption that hereby "the Orthodox party have frankly acknowledged that in the bosom of Protestantism there undoubtedly exist two ecclesiastical principles, and that a *modus vivendi* must be found corresponding to both without sacrificing either to the other." On hearing of this very broad interpretation put upon their action, M. Bois and four other members of the Synodal Commission at once withdrew their names from the agreement. An Evangelical conference, held at Le Vigan, in the following autumn, rejected the compromise for the same reason. A conference, mostly of the Right Center, at Rouen, and one at Lille, in the same season, again proposed an adjustment not differing much from the one above mentioned. The Synod was to exercise no repressive authority over doctrinal utterances, except on complaint of the "competent authorities," which must

mean the consistories and local presbyteries. The only subscription to be required of the electors was that they should listen to the reading of the required qualification. A truly unhappy situation is here implied—a Confession of Faith without any obligation, an electoral law without guarantee, a Synod without power. As in the relations between Church and State, so in the mutual attitude of the two parties, the action of the Synod seems only to have wrought confusion. For one step forward there have been two backward. The dispute appears interminable, and threatens to exhaust the spiritual force of the Church. Yet all have looked to a new Synod as a solution of the problem.

In the autumn of 1875, the decision of the Council of State on the renewal of the elections being still withheld, appeared M. Doumergue's pamphlet, "*L'unité de l'Eglise réformée*," which denied the existence of any occasion for schism, on the ground that the new liberalism, being properly rationalism, had no rights (*droit de cité*) within the Reformed Church. M. Sayou, of the Left Center, in *Le Régime synodale*, defended the authority of the Synod, and sought to persuade the Liberals to submit. The notable reply of M. Maurice Vernes, Liberal delegate, aimed at the same practical result from an extremely radical point of view. It attributed such a fluctuating tendency to theological opinions as to make subscription appear a matter of small scruple and easily rendered for the sake of peace and material advantage. M. Vernes though an applicant for a theological chair at Montauban, is the author of *Les idées messianiques*, wherein he exhibits a radicalism quite beyond that of MM. Colani and Réville concerning the authority of Jesus. The book was severely criticised by M. Pécaut in the Liberal journal *La Renaissance*.

While arguments thus drawn from the utter annihilation of the faith are applied to the pacification of the Church, and the government has seemed quite at a loss to know how it may put an end to the complications, the Churches have suffered from an unusual dearth of pastors. In the spring of 1877 forty-five pastorates were vacant. The cause lay partly in the poverty of the Churches, but also in the discords prevailing and the unsettled state of doctrinal opinions. The number of candidates for the ministry at the theological seminaries also considerably

diminished. During this year MM. Bersier, Theodore and Ernest Monod, and John Bost, founder of the asylums at La Force, passed over from the Free Church to the National. The Church of *L'Etoile* was received as a mission and M. Bessier recognized as an assistant pastor. In a letter to a friend he announces his abandonment of the hopes he had vainly cherished, as an enthusiasm of his youth, for the abolition of the principle of State Churches and Concordats in the present epoch. He had, in 1873, decidedly approved the vernacular liturgical service of Père Hyacinthe, and the next year introduced it into his Church, besides certain observances hitherto characteristic of the Lutherans. In his published discourse, (pronounced June 3, 1877,) the accompanying preface, explanatory notes, and letter, he declares plainly for a sacramental Church, embracing all baptized persons, in distinction from a Church of "*professants*," or subscribers to a creed, which for the times is an institution too narrow and precarious. The principle of individualism is not adequate; the spiritual rights of the community at large must be regarded and fostered. The separation of the Protestant Church from the State at present would be disastrous to the cause of Protestantism. The Free Church has not succeeded in its enterprise. On the latter point M. Pressensé, in his criticism on the above publication, responds, "Pray let him tell us what has succeeded in our unhappy French Protestantism." Theodore Monod, son of Frederic Monod, accepted the Church of St. Marie. In his letter of acceptance he wrote, "Moreover, I am of opinion that I am thus [in returning to the National Church] in no wise unfaithful to the memory of my father, convinced as I am that he would not have dreamed of forsaking the National Church had the Synod of 1848 done what that of 1872 has done." The Free Church, though saddened by these losses, was not disheartened. It was cheered by the accession of the strong Church of Lyons to this union, and both branches of Protestantism have had reason to be encouraged by the growing influence of their principles and of their adherents in the country at large. An unusual destitution of the Churches with respect to settled pastors has, however, continued, sixty-one vacancies being reported in March, 1878.

Many elections, both regular and renewed, were held early in

1877, where the Liberals subscribed to the new condition and prevailed with their votes. The Orthodox minorities thus found themselves under the official control of their opponents. M. Dufaure, Minister of Public Worship, and his successor, M. Martel, had issued circulars to the presidents of the consistories urging conciliation in the conduct of the elections. Two conferences of the opposite parties, however, held at Paris in April, pronounced against the late measures of compromise, the Orthodox taking extreme ground concerning the rights of the Synod. The Liberals again besought the government to reverse the decree annulling the illegal elections. They continued to prevent the confirmation of Theodore Monod, and petitioned again for a division of the Paris Consistory. A commission of Catholic lawyers, of which Dufaure was chairman, was appointed to examine into the legality of the proposed division. The only conclusion reached by the report was to recommend conciliatory action to the dominant party in the matter of pastors for Liberal congregations. An unusual event occurred in March, 1878, when a body of senators and deputies called before them certain members of the Liberal party to hear their complaints and learn their wishes, and thereupon agreed to petition Minister Bardoux for the establishment of two consistories at Paris and for the approval of all the elections held according to the law of 1852, besides certain action regarding the special elections of Mazamet and St. Foy. The minister acceded, but appeal was taken to the Council of State. In thus seeking or admitting government interference, the Liberals were but doing, in an irregular way, that for which they had blamed the Orthodox, who had sought to establish themselves by formal statute. After the lapse of many months, however, these vexed electoral questions have come no nearer a solution. Liberal pastors also continue their ministrations without subscription to the Synodal Confession of Faith.

A remarkable change has, however, lately occurred in the attitude of the government, which has seemingly proposed to cut the Gordian knot of party differences in the Reformed Church by resuscitating the powers of the Central Council established by the law of 1852. This is an institution of the empire, and an instrument of absolute control over Church affairs. Former members of the council had deceased, and the functions

of the body were almost forgotten. The method of filling vacancies is not fully determined by statute. Its reorganization has been talked of since the last winter, and favored by the Liberals. The government assumed the right to fill vacancies by ministerial appointment, which resulted in the introduction of many Liberals, some being of the extreme radical type. The council met July 9. A project for the regulation of elections was presented, but decisive action deferred till the next session, to be held in October. It remains, at the present writing, to be seen whether this movement of the government will be so conducted as to render quite "abortive" the work of the Synod.

Another notable step in the direction of arbitrary governmental action, which occurred last April, was the appointment of two professors, MM. Viguié and Bonnet Maury, respectively to the vacant chairs of Practical Theology and Ecclesiastical History in the Paris faculty. The appointment was made without consulting either the consistories or the faculty, though the latter are considered to have given silent consent. A profound sensation was created by this action, and a formal protest will probably be presented by some of the consistories before the Council of State against such disregard of the Synodal provision for appointment to the professorial chairs. The ministers generally, however, are said to have approved beforehand the legality of the appointment. The delay of the Orthodox party in the Reformed Church to present candidates, through their dissatisfaction with the establishment of the faculty at Paris, and the undue eagerness of the Lutherans to possess the vacant chairs, may be justly blamed as the occasion for this step, and evangelical organs are urging upon their friends speedy action in the case of the vacant professorship at Montauban. The new professors were the candidates of the Liberal party, which has welcomed their appointment and the manner of it. The Liberal influence has manifest ascendency with the present government, which does not stop at arbitrary measures to satisfy it.

On the other hand, there have come into existence during the past year, as a means of action and defense for the Orthodox, the *synodes officieux*, or semi-official synods, the idea of which seems to have originated largely with the Montauban faculty in the autumn of 1878. The Orthodox Churches, or the minority Orthodox party in a Liberal Church, send delegates to a

circonscription Synod. In two thirds or more of the *circonscriptions*, these free Synods, independent of State authority, are now formed, the scheme having been readily adopted by the Orthodox, and a General Synod of this kind, delegated from the *circonscriptions*, is expected to meet in Paris in November. The movement is naturally regarded as a large step toward the separation of the Orthodox portion of the Reformed Church from State dependence. Many of the Orthodox leaders anticipate from the action of such a Synod some happy deliverance from the present intolerable state of indecision and perplexity. The Synod will have assembled, and some advanced action entailing important consequences will perhaps have been taken before this article meets the eye of the reader.

In May last a delegation of forty-one presidents of consistories met in Paris, and assumed action, as an intermediate or prudential body in place of the Synodal Commission, which has been for a long time entirely inefficient. There is little hope at present that another National Synod will be summoned, and, indeed, the results attained by that of 1872 seem to be practically annulled. None the less was the assembling of the latter a highly important epoch, and the survey of subsequent events in the legal relations of the Church, though a tedious study, yet presents an important factor in the great religious problem which has been called the "Sphinx of France." When French Protestantism enters upon its grander career, then will the true significance of the struggles it is now undergoing in the trammels of the State subordination, established by the empire, be appreciated.*

III. We turn to glance for a moment at the Recent Status of French Protestantism in the work of Education and Evangelization.

The interests of education in connection with the Church, while calling for some difference of opinion, have yet attracted in good degree a harmonious co-operation. The importance of the theological schools is confessed by all; and in the late dis-

* Authority for some of the above statements may be found in certain communications from M. Pressensé to the London *Christian World*, which have been reproduced by Professor Baird in the New York *Christian World*.

cussions concerning the transfer of the Strasburg and Montauban faculties to Paris, both parties in the Reformed Church, and the whole Lutheran Church, have taken a lively interest. The theological seminary, founded by Antoine Court, at Lausanne, in 1730, directed by him during the remaining thirty years of his life, and subsequently transferred to Geneva, had furnished the Reformed Church with pastors almost exclusively, till Napoleon, in 1810, founded the theological faculty of Montauban, a small town not far from Toulouse. A Reformed seminary had, indeed, anciently existed there from 1598, and was suppressed by the Jesuits in 1661. A second seminary established at Lausanne and one at Neufchâtel also furnish pastors for the Reformed Church.

We have seen that the question of transferring the Montauban faculty to Paris was considered in the late Synod. This was not a new question, and the same arguments were used on either side as had been employed before. In 1834 a commission appointed by M. Guizot, then Minister of Public Instruction, to consider the needs of the Protestant schools, reported next year in favor of the foundation of a new theological faculty at Paris, and the strengthening of those at Montauban and Strasburg. Against the project of a faculty at Paris it was argued with much earnestness, in the Chamber, in the press, and elsewhere, that the moral atmosphere of Paris and the expense of living rendered it an unfit place for Protestant students; while the actual establishment of a faculty there would, on the whole, operate destructively upon the patronage of Montauban. The opposition came then, as of late, mainly from the Orthodox party. It was feared that the Liberal influence would predominate at Paris. In favor of the project it was urged that Protestantism languished precisely for the want of that larger contact with the world and that broader culture of its ministry which a faculty at Paris would secure for it. No action of the kind proposed, not even in strengthening the old faculties, was then taken, though the discussion was for a long time continued. The accession of MM. Jalaguier, (1834,) Monod, (1836,) and De Félice, (1839,) to the faculty of Montauban revived the prospects of the institution, and brought to it an era of greater influence.

The general awakening of energy incident to the establish-

ment of the Republic after the war of 1871, and the attention directed to the subject of education, called up again the question of a Protestant faculty at Paris. A removal of the Lutheran faculty from Strasburg seemed necessary after the political changes, and the Lutheran Synod of 1872 petitioned for its transference to Paris. The Reformed Church, and especially the Orthodox party, were in doubt as to which course to favor about the faculty of Montauban. The influence of Paris life was dreaded, and at the same time courted. Many feared to leave Montauban in rivalry with Paris, yet the maintenance of an institution in the south seemed highly important. Probably the wisest suggestion has been that of transferring the Montauban faculty to Montpellier, where it would be associated with the provincial university. This plan would accord with the favorite national scheme of fostering such provincial establishments, and would give the faculty a rank corresponding to the Catholic universities now organized. The Protestant institution would be in the bosom of the Huguenot population of the departments Gard and Hérault, equally distant from those of Ardèche and Drôme, where are one hundred thousand Protestants, of Tarn and of Tarne-et-Garonne. As yet the faculty remains at Montauban.

In 1873 a free school of theological science was opened in Paris, with the general co-operation of leading Protestants, Reformed and Lutheran. It was not designed to form a new theological faculty, but "to offer solid and serious theological instruction in courses of lectures which will supplement the teachings given in the faculties." An extensive library was to be attached to the school, and prizes were offered for papers on specified subjects. The course was opened December 1, and lectures delivered by MM. Pressensé, Lichtenberger, Hollard, Bersier, Sabatier, Matter, and Doumergue. The rapid advance of the Catholics in securing the right to organize education under exclusive control of the Church, first in the primary and secondary grades, and, in 1875, in the foundation of universities, hastened the determination of the Protestants to erect their new school, if possible, into a full faculty of theology. The government, however, took other and welcome action. M. Waddington, the Minister of Public Instruction, issued a decree March 27, 1877, transferring the faculty of Strasburg to Paris,

or, rather, reorganizing it there. The faculty, consisting of M. Lichtenberger, Dean, and Profs. Matter, Berger, and Sabatier, were formally installed June 1, 1877, under the auspices of the *Recteur de l'Academie de Paris*, in the ancient *Collège Rollin*, Rue Lhomond, near the Pantheon. This was a great day for Protestantism, the jealousy of the Sorbonne having forbidden any such establishment in Paris, even during the happiest times of the Edict of Nantes. Eight scholarships were granted by the government of eight hundred francs each. Two chairs were left to be filled by the Reformed Church, but the Synodal Commission has delayed action, and the Lutherans have sought to occupy the positions. The important new action of the government has been noticed above. In August, 1878, the faculty graduated five students. The same number of candidates for the ministry were presented by Montauban. This seems to be a feeble showing for the hope of the French Protestant Church. There were not, indeed, last year, over one hundred theological students in all the schools.

In the matter of general public education the Protestants have shown a worthy interest. The position which the Protestants have maintained, and the wide influence they are now able to exert, notwithstanding the civil disabilities so long endured, demonstrates their thorough devotion to the work of education within their own fold. They have not, however, built up distinct institutions of the secondary grade to any notable extent. For the education of their sons they have depended upon the government colleges or lyceums, which furnish all that is necessary for intellectual training. Private schools for girls as well as for boys, or *pensions*, exist in Paris and in the provinces. There are two or three preparatory theological schools: that at the Batignolles, in Paris, under the auspices of the *Société Centrale*, which has given a large number of candidates to the ministry, being well known.

Special attention has been bestowed upon the work of primary instruction. The "Society for the Promotion of Primary Instruction among the Protestants of France," founded in 1830, has sent out over twelve hundred breveted teachers from its normal schools, and some thirteen hundred schools have been through its aid transformed into communal schools under government support. Of late, however, fears are entertained that,

in presence of the new energy displayed in the government and Catholic schools, the Protestant private schools in Paris, of which there are nearly one hundred, more than one third being of the National Reformed Church, will lose their relative position. Funds are lacking to supply the teachers necessary for the modern system of division in the work of instruction. The private schools with lay instructors have been losing ground generally in France before the advance of the government system and the powerful Roman ecclesiasticism. This appears from the report of M. Bardoux, published in August, 1878. From 1854 to 1865 one hundred and sixty-eight such institutions of secondary grade perished; from 1865–76, one hundred and sixty-three. At present only four hundred and ninety-four remain in France. In twenty years, at this rate, all will disappear. "Ce sera," says the report, "le duel de la caserne et du couvent." The late rapid progress of primary instruction is shown in the report of M. Gréard, Director of Public Instruction in Paris—*L'enseignement primaire à Paris de* 1865 *à* 1877—which was open for inspection at the Exposition of 1878. The percentage of children at school was, in 1831, before the law of 1833, 16.67; in 1836, 20.86; in 1856, 21.68; in 1866, 27.63; in 1873, 30.54; in 1875, 39,61, an increase of 9.17 per cent. in three years. Still, one third of the pupils, or 66.490, were in the free schools. Protestantism will need to display great energy to maintain itself as a distinct factor in this educational development, though we may, of course, anticipate that the general spread of education will awaken increase of favor toward the Protestant principle.

We will now review briefly the direct work of evangelization. During and immediately after the war of 1871 some of the secular papers uttered repeated lamentations over the dearth of religious faith. "Does any moral life exist in France?" said the *Siècle:* and further: "What we want is, to change our hearts." The Protestants in Paris, during the excitement, seemed timid about aggressive evangelistic work, though the popular feeling was favorable to them from its reaction against the priests. In October, 1871, the Evangelical Home Missionary Society was founded at Nismes, embracing the various branches of Protestantism. Next year the Protestant pastors were surprised at the ready reception they met when they opened pub-

lic halls for preaching. In 1873 Pastor Armand de Lille, whose zeal was exceptional in 1871, had marked success in his meetings for the middle classes in Paris. These meetings, held in Rue Royale, have since continued to grow in power, as was manifest particularly in 1877. In 1874 very successful union meetings were held in Paris by the excellent Theodore Monod, who prosecuted from year to year his itinerating labors for the new Home Mission. Interesting revivals occurred from time to time in the Haute-Loire, Ardèche, and Gard, as also in the winter and spring of 1875 at Montmeyran, and in the Drôme, the old home of religious zeal, and at Marseilles.

In the winter of 1876–77 remarkable openings for evangelization appeared in the departments lying farther to the north of Yonne, Côte d'Or, Nièvre, and Creuse, where Catholic communities *en masse*, and whole villages, petitioned for the labors of Protestant pastors. In 1877 occurred the notable conversion to Protestantism of M. Bouchard, counselor of Côte d'Or; M. Turquet, deputy of Aisne; M. Renouvier, editor of *La Critique Philosophique;* and M. Réveillaud, editor of a republican paper at Troyes. The latter, during the next year, advanced to so ardent a spiritual experience that he declined the editorship of the proposed new Protestant daily paper, and became an evangelist of the Reformed Church. His itinerant labors in the center and west of France, in connection with M. Dardier, of the Geneva Evangelical Society, during the past winter, were attended with marked success, as reported at the meeting of the Home Mission Society in April. At St. Quentin he found a Church of fourteen hundred members, nearly all converts of several years past from Romanism. A successful Methodist Church, constituted in like manner, was found at Thiers. Crowds of people, among whom the best order prevailed, every where heard his addresses. Catholic churches were in some cases transferred by the municipality to the purposes of Protestant worship. New Protestant schools were opened. Special interest was taken in the work progressing in La Creuse, under M. Hirsch, a converted Jew. "I dwell more particularly," says M. Réveillaud, "upon the sentiment manifest in the rural districts, because the favorable reception accorded in the cities to public addresses on the subject of Protestantism is now well known." A committee was formed at

Paris, in April last, to devise and establish, if possible, a systematic scheme of public addresses on Protestantism throughout France. The report of M. Lelièvre, editor of the *Evangeliste*, to the late Basle Conference, on evangelization in France, is replete with interest.

The different societies have, in their yearly reports, given at the May anniversaries, varied between encouragement and hope. They have lately suffered more or less in their resources from the business derangement of the times, especially such as have depended considerably upon foreign aid. A cheerful enthusiasm naturally pervaded the assemblies this year. About one million francs was reported as the aggregate contribution for all work.

Chief among the strictly evangelization societies is the *Société évangelique de France*, a union organization founded in 1833 to labor among the Catholic population. It reports unusual success this year, and, by the efforts of Pasteur Fisch, has happily passed a financial crisis. The *Société Centrale Protestante*, founded in 1845, is a Church extension society of the Reformed Church, and sustains the Batignolles preparatory school. The Church seems to owe its present Orthodox majority to the labors of this society. It supports one hundred and thirty-nine agents, and works now in three hundred and twenty localities, scattered through sixty-seven departments and the colonies. It expends two hundred and twenty-five thousand francs. *La mission intérieure évangelique*, founded at Nismes in 1871, as above mentioned, was formed under the impulse of a high enthusiasm, and designed to unite all Christians, pastors and laymen, men and women, by the formation of *groupes* throughout the country, in practical schemes of evangelization. It issues a monthly *Bulletin*, and is now doing encouraging work. There is also a *Commission d'évangélization des Eglises libres*. Of the foreign societies devoted to the interests of evangelization in France the chief is the *Société évangélique de Genève*, founded in 1831, and the oldest evangelical society on the continent. It had lately twenty-four theological students in its seminary. It employs fifteen pastors and teachers and fifty-six colporteurs. The *Société de Neufchâtel pour l'évangélization de France*, founded in 1871, and having its origin in a mission to the disbanded soldiers, sends a Bible carriage

over the country under M. Pointet, which has already visited fifty departments. There is a *Société des Missions* at Paris, to sustain foreign missionary work, which is carried on just now with encouragement in Africa. The society was founded in 1822, and had several auxiliaries, scarce any of which now exist. The sum of last year's contributions was 140,000 francs. France has furnished the society thirty-seven missionaries in all. The *Journal des missions évangéliques* has but seven hundred and fourteen paying subscribers. There is, besides, the *Petit Messager*, but the missionary literature is extremely limited.*

For religious work at home there are effective popular publications such as, *L'ami de la jeunesse*, originated by Rev. Mark Wilks, in 1825; *L'ami de la maison*; and *La chambre haute*. In this connection the larger journals may be enumerated, which are the organs of some branch or party of the Church. *Le Témoignage*, published at Paris, is the Lutheran organ; *Le Christianisme au XIX^e^ Siècle*, (Paris,) M. Doumergue, editor, represents the Orthodox party of the Reformed Church; *La Renaissance*, (Paris,) M. Etienne Coquerel, editor, the Liberal party; *L'Eglise libre*, (Nice,) M. Pilatte, editor, the Free Church; *L'Evangeliste*, (Nismes,)† Wesleyan, M. Lelièvre, editor, naturally favors the Orthodox party, and also the Free-Church principle. The new *Journal du Protestantisme Francais*, (Paris,) MM. Byse and Lichtenberger, editors, represents the Left Center. *Le Signal*, a small weekly established April, 1879, at Paris, in the general interests of Protestantism, M. Réveillaud, editor, is well received. The daily paper, *Le Réformateur*, established at Paris in April, 1879, from which so much was expected, soon proved a lamentable failure, being injudiciously conducted. The *Revue Chrétienne*, (Paris,) M. Pressensé, editor, is an able organ of the Orthodox faith and of Free-Church principles. The *Revue de Théologie*, (Strasburg,) Liberal, long since ceased to appear.

Heretofore some of the most successful gospel workers in France have been foreigners, chiefly from England and Switz-

* For a notice of the various other organizations, home and foreign Bible societies, tract, educational, and charitable societies, see the *Revue Chrétienne* for September, 1878.

† *L'Evangeliste* is to be transferred to Paris.

erland. During the present decade the cause of evangelization in Paris has been greatly indebted to Rev. R. W. M'All, of Scotland, who opened meetings for the working classes in 1871. His labors have attracted great attention, and have been constantly extending. The report of last year gave 22 stations, 4,694 sittings, an aggregate attendance of about 500,000 at both adults' and children's meetings. The appearance of Protestant propagandism is avoided at these gatherings, but those interested are ultimately directed to the Churches. Mr. M'All has recently opened similar meetings in Lyons and Bordeaux, while new workers have followed his example in Marseilles and other cities. Miss De Broen, "an English lady with a French heart," has distinguished herself by systematic work for the common people at Belleville, in Paris, which, begun among the Communists in 1871, has grown to large proportions. The agencies employed are a medical mission, evangelistic meetings, sewing classes, day-schools, night-schools, Sunday-schools, Bible classes, a Sunday library, and house to house visitation. The priests say: "We cannot go into a house in Belleville without finding a Bible, or portion of Scripture, on every chair." New enterprises have been opened in Paris this year. It is an era of increased activity. An evangelical reading-room in the students' quarter, and Prof. Delaunay's meetings, are to be noted. Mr. Weylland, of the London City Mission, went over to Paris, under encouragement from the Earl of Shaftesbury, to organize a like work for the French capital. Truly, "the harvest is great" in those great cities. The committee to direct this mission consists chiefly of French pastors and laymen, with some English residents.

The caution above referred to as exercised in the case of Mr. M'All's meetings shows what power the law, which might be applied in the interest of Romanism, still has over religious assemblies. M. Gide, of the faculty of law at Bordeaux, has shown in his pamphlet of last year, *La défense légale de la liberté religieuse*, how all the work of Protestant propagandism stands in peril of legal indictment. He says, "About all Protestant mission work is done in France among man-traps, and spring-guns, and toils and meshes, which, according to the good pleasure of the local administration, may be kept in abeyance or set in motion." This position of things arises from the ex-

istence of Articles 291–294 of the Penal Code, and their constructive application to assemblies for religious purposes. Catholic influence has, under this construction of the law, interfered in several instances, since the establishment of the republic, with the work of Protestant evangelization.

We alluded in the former article to the prolonged and able debates conducted in the Chambers upon this point of the law during the reign of Louis Philippe, and to its application under the second empire. We can say but a word here concerning the distinguished efforts of M. Pressensé, while a member of the National Assembly, to secure an abolition or modification of the *autorisation préalable*; that is, a requirement of official sanction for the opening of new religious assemblies. Such a change in the law is highly essential to any proper development of religious life in France. M. Pressensé proposed his measure early in 1873 to the committee of the Assembly appointed to consider the subject of the "Liberty of Religious Assemblies," and was supported by such able statesmen as MM. Waddington, Bardoux, and D'Haussonville. The committee reported favorably through M. Bardoux in 1874. The speech of M. Pressensé before the committee and that of M. Bardoux before the Assembly ably reviewed the history during the present century of the relations between the State and the Church, and these speeches constitute a very notable passage in the history of French parliamentary debates on the religious question. The liberal law submitted by the committee awaited consideration, but ultimately failed of coming to a decisive vote. Another bill of like character was reported with good prospects early in 1877. Again, in March of the present year, M. Seignobos offered in the Chamber a bill of which the first article runs thus: "Meetings having as their sole object the celebration of religious worship are lawful if held in public, and if a previous declaration has been made to the local municipality."

The Ferry laws have, however, this year absorbed both legislative and popular attention. The leading Protestants seem generally to have favored the proposed limitation of the authority to confer degrees to the State, and the exclusion of the clergy from the Superior Council of public instruction where they had gained so much power under the reactionary law of

1850, while there has been, perhaps, equal agreement in objecting to the principle of Article 7. It is argued that the Jesuits should be allowed equal privileges with other citizens, and that the safeguards deemed necessary should be established rather through additional general laws in respect to religious societies. M. Pressensé, says, in condemnation of Article 7: "We must absolutely reject this scandalous abandonment of the liberal idea of State authority, which annuls its character as a lay institution, and will eventuate in constituting it a pope for the benefit of an official irreligion."

IV. Concerning THE PROSPECTS OF PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE our limits allow but a word.

The ability of Protestants, notwithstanding their great numerical inferiority,* to hold many high posts in the government councils; the late notable conversion of eminent men from the ranks of Catholicism and infidelity; the number of able pamphlets lately issued for popular circulation, similar to the work of M. Réveillaud, presented in Professor Wells' article in a recent number of this Review, all urging upon the French people the necessity of a hearty adoption of Protestantism as the only hope of the nation; together with the wide-spread spirit of popular inquiry and desire for Protestant teaching, "an eagerness," it has been said, "which recalls the early days of the Reformation"—all these signs naturally inspire high hope for the success of Protestantism in France. M. Turquet, the newly converted deputy of Aisne, asserts that France may become Protestant in forty years. The older leaders by no means share such ardent expectation. It is pleasing to observe the patient confidence of so able a man as M. Réveillaud, who says in his late report: "If the result we wish requires long waiting, if it demands the effort of many generations, let us not be discouraged by that. Something has been achieved if we can

* The note in the First Article (October, 1879, p. 661) gives too large an estimate of the general Protestant population. Prof. Baird, author of the carefully written "History of the Rise of the Huguenots of France," thinks 1,000,000 may be taken as the extreme limit in such an estimate, the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine included, and 750,000 exclusive of these provinces; the truth being rather below than above these numbers. The figures given in the *text* (of the First Article) are more frequently quoted, though doubtless quite too low to express the full strength of Protestantism in France.

arouse the attention of the people. . . . We must continue to plant like Paul, and water like Apollos, though with God remains the giving of the increase."

The new scheme of Père Hyacinthe, who still makes emphatic his adherence to Rome, though charitably received by the Protestants, seems, at present view, likely to be fruitless. Romanism does not meet the deep-felt want of the people, and is insufficient to save France. But at the present hour, above any strife of parties, as such, within the bosom of Protestantism, or any contention with Catholicism as a form of Church life, arises the demand for a firm and united struggle of spiritual faith with the power of unbelief. "A world without God," says *Le Témoiguage*, "rushes up to the assault of all we love and all we worship; a generation is rising which believes in naught else but the gross enjoyments of sensual appetites. You are face to face with a moral epidemic such as our age has not previously seen." M. Pressensé uses similar language. "More than ever," says he, "are we struck with the fearful, almost tragic, gravity of the situation, which involves the very existence of Christianity. . . . And all sympathy should be accorded to those who are making any effort whatever to reanimate the trembling flame of a higher life." The peril of the present Republic is certainly as great from the assaults of infidelity as from the schemes of Romanism. We believe that ultimately a thoroughly spiritual and intelligent Protestantism can alone bring order out of the confusion, solve the riddle so unceasingly presented to the nation, and open the way to that career of moral power so suited to the lofty genius of the French people.

Art. IV.—F. H. JACOBI.

Nothing is quite so real to an animal as the food he eats and the bed he sleeps upon. We are all animals and something more, but there is a popular tendency among us to cherish the grossness of the animal, and to smother and starve the heaven-born part that struggles for recognition through perceptions more ethereal than the animal knows, and longings that the animal cannot feel and that material things can never satisfy.

Assured that the meat by which man really grows is not that which nourishes the body, we do well to sit at the feet of those masters who offer to guide us out of this thralldom to the physical, and open our eyes upon the less palpable, but no less real, world in the midst of which we so unconsciously walk; for

> "The spirit world is not locked up;
> Thy feelings are closed, thy heart is dead."
> —GOETHE'S FAUST.

Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi stands foremost among those who were quite as sure of their spiritual vision as of their physical sight, and many has he helped to a better assurance of spiritual things.

He was a son of a Düsseldorf merchant, and in his early training was prepared, as far as possible, to assist and succeed his father. In 1759, at the age of sixteen, he was sent to Frankfort-on-the-Main to further pursue his mercantile education. All outward forces thus far drew him toward material pursuits; but an irrepressible force within prevailed over the constraint imposed by the elder Jacobi, and kept the young merchant busier with his meditations than he was with his accounts. This struggle between material interest and inclination continued for several years, even after his father had committed to his charge a valuable business and left a large estate for him to administer.

He had already, during a three-years' residence in Geneva, acquired a remarkable familiarity with the French language and literature, which added a prominent qualification for a literary life. The conscientiousness, also, which marked his whole life had appeared very early, and had cost him some ridicule from his fellow-students, because he could not tolerate the most common tricks and immoralities of business and of society. His developing mind seized upon the profoundest truths with a resolution that would leave nothing unmastered, so that, as the tradition runs, when he made the vain attempt to comprehend *infinity*, he fell fainting to the floor.

The inevitable abandonment of mercantile for literary pursuits was favored by the political appointments which he received from the government, first as councilor of finance of the cities of Berg and Juliers, and afterward as privy councilor

at Munich. In the latter office he exposed the abuses of the Bavarian system of customs, and advocated greater liberty of commerce, thus bringing upon himself such bitter hostility that it soon drove him into retirement at Pempelfort, his country-seat near Düsseldorf. Here he devoted himself at last to philosophy, hospitality and epistolary communion with the most learned men of his age. With the help of his beautiful and intellectual wife, Jacobi made his home a literary center, second only to Weimar and the university towns. Among the guests at Pempelfort Goethe occasionally appeared, where he formed a strong and intimate attachment to his host, of whom he writes: "Jacobi's original and constitutional direction toward the inscrutable was in the highest degree welcome and genial. . . . At night, after we had already parted and withdrawn to our sleeping apartments, I would seek him again. The moonshine trembled on the broad Rhine; and we, standing at the window, reveled in the fullness of reciprocal giving and receiving." Again he writes, "And so we parted at last, with the blessed feeling of eternal union."

Jacobi has left us his impressions of Goethe at the same period: "From the crown of his head to the sole of his foot he was all genius, power, and strength, a spirit of fire with the wings of an eagle, . . . to whom it is allowed in scarcely any event to act otherwise than involuntarily."

A similarity is noticeable between the minds of these two remarkable men in respect to their extraordinary power of intuition; and Goethe himself confesses to some surprise that their "striving should take opposite directions."

Jacobi returned to Munich in 1804, upon the invitation of the newly founded academy of sciences in that city, of which, three years later, he was made president. This office he adorned for a few years, and then retired for a quiet, but literary evening of life at his country-seat. He died in 1819, having completed threescore and sixteen years.

The writings of Jacobi were very opportune, since, like most great souls, he was so in communion with the spirit of his age, that his own contributions to the world's thought were what the world then needed. He found men contending about the sources of knowledge and the elements of certainty. The problem thus prepared had great interest for him, and no less

difficulty. It involved the foundation of all religious faith, and thus the weal of the race. Impelled at once by profound piety and ardent philanthropy, Jacobi addressed himself to this great philosophical question of the day. Giving the problem his deliberate study, he evolved a psychological theory no less profound than bold, which conflicted with leading doctrines of both Kant and Hume. Eminently practical was his every thought; it contemplated the nature of man, and aimed to satisfy the wants of his heart. No consideration stood before this, and every product of his formal thinking in solitude had to be sacrificed in the world's arena if found to conflict with the interests of humanity. Thus he established an equivocal name, as an atheist, a theist, and a mystic. It may be only partially the fault of his interpreters that before the general public he still bears the same unjust reputation. In general, however, it must be confessed that Jacobi has fared remarkably well at the hands of his critics. His spirit disarms hostility, and his name is almost invariably linked with terms of the greatest respect.

Jacobi's works are not voluminous or very systematic. "Never was it my aim," he declares, "to set up a system for the schools. My writings proceeded out of my inmost life. . . . I wrote them, so to speak, not myself, of my own free will, but urged on by a higher power which I could not resist." It may not be remarkable, since he wrote under such a conscious impulse from without, that his works lack the unity of plan which belongs to continuous effort. Yet this does not interfere with his conscious identity, or the permanence of his convictions. It was the same man who, as he confessed, was "a heathen in his understanding and a Christian in his feelings."

Jacobi's earliest works were "Edward Allwill's Correspondence," and "Woldemar," which contain many of his philosophical views incorporated in such romance as suited the taste and intelligence of the period. He has been severely criticised for allowing himself to sugar-coat his philosophy with sensational fiction of questionable moral tone. "Woldemar" especially has been criticised and applauded with equal zeal. A literary critic in the "Edinburgh Review" (1847) finds it even more astonishing that such a work should have come from the pen of "a serene and virtuous philosopher," than that it should have

been so eagerly read, which latter he would otherwise consider the most astonishing thing in the world. The reviewer referred to, though he seems to base his criticism upon sound principles, may have overlooked the important fact that Jacobi aimed to establish in that work an argument against mere conventionalities, in favor of higher moral obligations and rights of the individual. Mrs. Sarah Austen, whom Macaulay calls "an interpreter between the mind of Germany and the mind of Britain," praises the literary character of Jacobi's fiction as "distinguished for vigorous painting; admirable delineation of nature and the human heart; warmth and depth of feeling; and a lively, bold, yet correct turn of expression." Professor Chalybaeus, with equal ardor, declares that "Jacobi's style, as remote from scholastic stiffness as from the superficial character of polite literature, will ever hold good as a model."

Works more exclusively philosophical and argumentative are the "Letters to Moses Mendelssohn," "David Hume on Faith; or, Idealism and Realism," and "Divine Things and their Revelation."

The first of these regards the doctrines of Spinoza, and the views of Lessing concerning them, Jacobi maintaining that, in a conversation with him, Lessing had confessed an inclination to accept the doctrines of Spinoza. Mendelssohn and some others claimed that in these letters Jacobi had attributed to Lessing a stronger devotion to Spinoza than was consistent with his published views, which so distinctly adopt the dualism of Descartes and Leibnitz that their author cannot be thought seriously to have entertained the pantheistic monism which Leibnitz chiefly controverted. But more important than this dispute about Lessing's views are the views advocated by the author of the work himself. These are, in brief, that all philosophical demonstration must end in Spinozism, which is fatalism and atheism, and that, to escape these evils, we must abandon demonstration and accept faith.

The work on "Idealism and Realism" convicted Kant of a radical defect in his "Critique of Pure Reason;" for, since Spinozism was essentially atheistic, Jacobi was eager to correct the errors of this popular Kantian philosophy, which system was perfectly compatible with his religious belief. He found, in Kant, that it is at once both indispensable and impossible

that things in themselves should affect our sentient organisms. This contradiction is fatal to all that is built upon it. In his theoretical philosophy Kant admitted, however reluctantly, that unaided sensation yields no knowledge of the transcendental, but merely a multiplicity of impressions. In spite of this concession, he assumed, and ever maintained, the dualism of subject and object, while neither is the product of any visibly connected cause. Jacobi has, then, the distinguished merit of establishing against Kant the following point: The "Critique of Pure Reason" denies that any causal nexus can be found between thinking and any noumenal object or subject, while the "Critique of Practical Reason," ignoring the principle already laid down, boldly assumes the transcendental as revealed by the phenomenal. Kant attempted to find some impossible demonstration for that which is undeniable and needs none, and thus threw a character of uncertainty upon the most positive knowledge that we have.

The work entitled, "Divine Things and their Revelation," was Jacobi's last, and probably contains the best exposition of his distinguishing doctrines, especially his "faith-philosophy." For this philosophy its author never claimed a place beside other systems, but, perhaps even too hastily and modestly, granted the argument to philosophers whose conclusions were revolting to him, but whose methods seemed to him valid. He thus occupied an anomalous position, which must be explained in one of these two ways; namely, either Jacobi was in error in supposing that the head positively demanded pantheism and the heart Christianity, or we are constituted with a cruel and irreconcilable antinomy, waging perpetual war in the center of our being, and setting one member against another in a manner for which no development theory can account, and of which no beneficent Creator could be guilty. This is the most important error of which Jacobi can be convicted, as he himself clearly saw. He was fully aware that his doctrines must break into two opposed systems, one of which must be false, by the most positive principles of logical opposition.

An antinomy may well lie under the suspicion of being nothing more than a convenient name under which to cover the shortsightedness of men. Can God's laws conflict? or can it really be that both the affirmative and negative of any given

proposition can be supported with equally strong proofs. By any given man, perhaps they may. In a boys' debating club they often are; but even the boys usually think that, if they knew all, the scale would promptly turn to one side or the other. With what reason, then, do men talk of antinomies as soon as the *pros* and *cons* seem to balance? It is clear that the data upon which rests one of the conflicting judgments must be either inaccurate or inadequate, unless there is a fallacy in the logic.

A supposed conflict of laws is sometimes attributed to the error of applying reason to matters beyond its sphere, as though there were spheres where reason could mislead, or where it were better, forsooth, to be unreasonable. Both Locke, in his "Essay Concerning the Human Understanding," and Kant, in his "Critique of Pure Reason," have given expression to views of which this would be a bald, but perhaps not altogether unfair, statement. Not the excess, but the deficiency, of reason leads to error; and laws which really conflict must be human. The Creator of the macrocosm created also the microcosm, and "I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs." Rob the world of the faith that all things fit into the harmonious plan of the Author of all, and the philosophy of history, and the grand system of correlated sciences, which thrill us with enthusiastic delight as they unfold before us, would, like bright dreams or punctured bubbles, vanish from the earth. All forms of matter, and all the faculties of the mind, must be supposed to be governed by harmonious laws, and enter, as co-ordinate elements, into the plan of the universe; else we impeach either the power, wisdom, or goodness of God.

Jacobi's philosophical creed developed at a time when the prevailing philosophy was Kant's, with all the admiration that belonged to its freshest triumphs. No other theme was so prominent as that to which, a century earlier, Locke had drawn very general attention—the question of the powers and limitations of the human understanding. After making experience the basis of all our knowledge, Locke was so unfortunate in his explanation of the origin of our ideas that Cousin easily convicted him of laying an excellent foundation for that sensationalism for which Hobbes and Condillac acknowledged their indebtedness to him, however distasteful such thanks might be.

It may not seem unnatural that Hobbes should derive from Locke's representative theory of perception his subtile corporeal spirit to replace the second member of Descartes' dualism, but it is far more startling to find Bishop Berkeley, with "every virtue under heaven," establishing upon the same basis a thorough-going idealism, and successfully maintaining his ground against the whole sensational school. To exhaust the strange possibilities of the case, Hume, again, accepting both Locke and Berkeley, advanced one fatal but inevitable step further, and, consigning mind to the same fate that matter had suffered at the hands of Berkeley, established a skeptical nihilism, which no subsequent philosopher has been able to refute without revising the whole foundation of the system upon which it rested. This task called for the genius of a Kant. He was able to reconstruct the principles of knowledge upon the ruins to which Locke's system had been reduced by the twofold *reductio ad absurdum* of Berkeley and Hume. In doing so, however, though he gained the foremost place among the metaphysicians of his age, he committed an error hardly inferior to Locke's, and quite as difficult to throw off. Locke perceived only images of things, that, so far as he could show, might have no corresponding external objects behind them. Kant, on the other hand, perceived only phenomena, and knew nothing of the things in themselves, which are manifest only in the phenomena. For both alike objects were implied as the originals of the images of the one, and as the principals behind the phenomena of the other. Both alike have furnished a basis upon which logical minds have built up systems that have violated the plainest dicta of common sense. Every body but a few philosophers thinks he knows that he walks in an actual physical world, and among other men like himself, while, according to Locke and Kant, pure reason teaches nothing of the sort; but rather that the world which we see is within us, and that we may be dreaming as truly in our waking as in our sleeping hours. Goethe appreciates this situation very well when he makes Faust say that this philosophy leaves him "as great a fool as he was before;" and then, in despair of knowing any thing, turn to the sensual enjoyments of the world.

From the particular error of Locke philosophy has largely, but not altogether, recovered; and from Kant's it is slowly re-

covering. To this end Jacobi has contributed the earliest and best assistance, by showing that sensation testifies not more positively of the so-called secondary qualities of bodies than of their objective actuality, as will be more fully shown in the proper connection.

But Fichte contributed toward the correction of Kant's error in a way similar to that in which Berkeley had exposed the weakness of Locke. Fichte inquired whether it was true that an actual objective world caused the subjective phenomena, as Kant evidently assumed. In his investigation of this problem he found in his consciousness the sensations, and from these inferred the objective, not in the relation of cause, but as the effect or product of the active mind. He accordingly gave a confident negative to his own query, and adopted the full consequence of the error in the central doctrine of his philosophy —that "all cognition is a self-activity which perceives only its own self-activity."

When Schelling replied to Fichte's reasoning, that we might with equal propriety reverse his process, and suppose the subjective to result from the objective, then the claims of both to priority were recognized as equal; and both Fichte, in his latter days, and Schelling, admitted that an absolute existence underlies all phenomena.

A very important further modification of the philosophy of knowledge was achieved by Hegel, and still attracts great attention. He united the subjective and the objective into such a union that the latter was implied in the former. The phenomena which we perceive were regarded as having the same character objectively as subjectively. "The ground of their being," said Hegel, "is not an unknown essence immediately behind the phenomena, but the absolute idea." Thus constituted, absolute idealism makes a radical contrast with the subjective idealism of Fichte.

This system of Hegel, first offered for publication in Jena during the bombardment of that city by Napoleon, is a little later in its origin than the faith-philosophy of Jacobi; nevertheless, Jacobi is, in a certain sense, the representative of an elementary form of the latest philosophic thought. What the philosophy of the future is to be, no man can confidently tell; but it may not be too bold to predict that what Jacobi felt, but

dared not say he knew, will yet find many to recognize its philosophical validity.

The chief claim of Jacobi to recognition among philosophers rests upon his doctrine that we have a direct intuitive knowledge of the suprasensible—that we see it with the "reason" as truly as we see physical objects with the eye. This doctrine has usually been regarded as enthusiastic, and its author sometimes set down among the Mystics of Germany. The degree of reproach implied in the terms *enthusiastic* and *mystic* varies with the persons who use them. When enthusiasm is charged as equivalent to fanaticism, and mysticism as implying obscurity and error, they simply beg the question at issue. A legitimate enthusiasm is what Jacobi claimed; and if we translate the Greek elements of the word (ἐν Θεός) as "God within," the meaning is rescued from all implication of error. Fanaticism is as far from the best sense of enthusiasm as rage from anger—to borrow a simile from Voltaire.

The quest of philosophy has ever been, before all else, for the efficient cause of nature. This cause does not appear in the nebular hypothesis, or in the atomic theory; for science cannot account for the first movements of either. Locke did not find it, for he had no secure hold upon any thing objective. Kant did not find it in the pure reason, for pure reason could know nothing of any thing in itself. Jacobi found a first cause, he was sure, but only in his heart—there was not quite room enough for it in his head. He claimed that this, together with some other knowledge, is impressed upon the soul without the intervention, in any way, of physical organs. The philosophy of Locke does not willingly admit any impressions upon the *tabula rasa* of the mind apart from the products of sensation and their combinations. Jacobi's claims must, accordingly, be positively refused, or some of the principles abandoned which have been maintained, or tacitly admitted, by a multitude of philosophers. The *tabula-rasa* simile has been convicted of fault in the implication that the mind is a cold and dead slate, that simply holds, without addition or change, whatever is committed to it. If this were so, there would be for us no external world—all primary qualities of matter would be forever shut out of the mind, for no sensation ever resembled any one of them. Secondary qualities are purely subjective. They not

only do not resemble in the least their immediate physical causes, but even these do not reside in the bodies to which we refer the qualities as by instinct, while the inferred concause, which *is* in the body, is beyond the reach of our investigation. It must be, then, that we are indebted to certain original energies of the mind for all that we know of the external world, even after sensation has revealed all that in the nature of the case is possible.

Kant insists upon the testimony of sensation as essential to the validity of mental products. Jacobi insists that he sees a light, which to the physical eye is invisible. Is he mistaken? or is Kant's requirement unessential?

A sensation is a feeling awakened in the mind through the medium of an organ of sense. This sensation becomes a perception when referred to the external object which occasioned it; thus do we acquire all our knowledge of the outward world. What, then, are the essential elements in the formation of any perception? Before all, something must be impressed upon the consciousness. Sensations depend solely upon the nerves to convey them to the conscious subject. Any interruption of their career toward the brain puts an end to them, or rather, there being no sensation in the consciousness, none exists anywhere. If, therefore, sensation is essential to perception, then nerves are likewise essential. But nerves are only the menial organ which serves mysteriously to convey impressions to the mind, without, in ordinary perceptions, revealing themselves to the consciousness. Some perceptions, moreover, such as the perception of relations, are generally recognized as being independent of all sensation. So, too, causation, time, and identity, must be perceived, if at all, without the help of any mechanism, since in their nature they are impalpable. No particular character in the object, therefore, can be pronounced essential to mental perception; immaterial principles are perceived as clearly as granite hills.

It thus appears that the practical objective conditions which now limit perception may be purely casual. Only two elements remain which can be shown to be essential in the perception of all things objective. These are feeling and reflection; feeling, because it is the condition of both sensation and consciousness, and whatever is not felt in either of these ways

cannot in any manner make itself known; and reflection, because feeling is not thought, and no knowledge can result from feeling simply as feeling, any more than we can become cognizant of a present physical object without looking upon it to discover its qualities. Reflection interprets feeling into terms of thought. This is done spontaneously, to be sure, and seems to attend rather than follow the feeling—what obviously follows being inference rather than intuition.

Both these essential conditions being met, the source or cause of the feeling does not affect the validity of the consequent perception. The feeling itself is sufficient evidence of the *actuality* of its cause; its *nature* is a distinct problem. "Whoever says he knows," observes Jacobi, "we properly ask him whence he knows. He must then depend at last upon one of these two things, either upon sensation or upon soul-feeling." All knowledge resting on the latter Jacobi denominated "faith," and he doubtless enjoyed the same assurance of his "faith" as of his material possessions. Yet it was Jacobi who cast upon this assurance the reproach of being unphilosophical. That reproach commends the modesty of the philosopher more than his logical powers. It must be set down as his weakness that he dared not maintain as legitimate the firmest convictions of his soul, simply because the method by which he reached them was not philosophically orthodox in his day.

The best use of philosophy is, doubtless, to regulate human conduct; and that which is unphilosophical should accordingly be abandoned. Why not, then, abandon every thing which is given us by the intuition of reason and from no better source? Why not give up the notion of an external world? Simply because the universal conviction of the race makes it impossible. Men do not wait for the formal decisions of philosophers upon questions which find uniform answers in their own clearest intuitions. No contradiction of this decision would command their respect. Again, why not abandon the notion of a First Cause presiding over the universe, and governing it according to the intelligent determinations of an unrestrained volition? The answer is to the same effect as the former, Because all races and tribes under the sun hold some faith in a god to whom they are responsible and expect to give account. The argu-

ment from common consent must not be despised. Philosophy cannot ignore it without itself being rejected. It rests upon intuitions which are universal and necessary, and which no authority is competent to gainsay.

Jacobi allows a logical validity to the pantheism of Spinoza, but it affords no satisfaction to the desires of his soul. His spirit rejects pantheism, while his reason accepts the demonstration on which it rests. His spirit, on the other hand, clings to the "faith," which his understanding cannot approve. Fully conscious of this paradox, Jacobi declared, "There is light in my heart, but when I attempt to bring it into my understanding, it goes out." What loyalty to the conclusions of a syllogism built upon false premises and doing violence to the strongest and purest intuitions of the soul! A weaker "faith" would have surrendered to so strong a conviction of the demands of the understanding. A stronger logical faculty would have scorned the ambiguous position which Jacobi under protest occupied. It may not be evident which was the weaker, his "faith" or his reason, but his preference between the horns of his dilemma was unmistakable and strong. The sphere of the simple understanding he plainly calls inferior, since it sadly disappoints the highest aspirations of which we are capable. These are satisfied in the intuitions of the divine, in which Jacobi realizes the highest of all possible objective revelations. To rescue these intuitions from the fatal monism of Spinoza Jacobi deliberately sacrificed his philosophy, such as it was, in favor of his faith. From that moment he formed a marked contrast with Spinoza. The latter knew no personal God; Jacobi ever felt his presence and heard his voice. Spinoza knew no causes except as immanent in matter and necessary; Jacobi recognized a Final Cause, and was conscious of his own freedom, and of his own accountability. Spinoza consequently enjoys a passionless repose, fearing nothing and hoping nothing, and witnessing the dissolution of his body with a stolid resignation, regarding his decay as another proof of his brotherhood with the clod. Jacobi, however, quick with the pulsations of an endless life, stretching eagerly forward to catch glimpses of the dawning of the bright to-morrow of his soul's desire, is by no means satisfied with the realizations of this life, but is more than satisfied with its hopes.

With Fichte and his ideal projection of subjective images Jacobi felt considerable sympathy. Fichte's soul was quick to recognize the spiritual forces of the universe, but he did not perceive their objective character. At this point Jacobi resists again an apparently valid conclusion in the clear light of his own intuitions. He was sure he saw, in the moral order of the world, a Father's hand; Fichte saw only a reflection of his own volitional activity. Such intolerable consequences of the reasoning of his metaphysical contemporaries, Jacobi escaped by resorting to the oracles of a higher authority. "There dwells within us," he said, "a spirit sent immediately from God, constituting the most essential part of our human nature. As this spirit is present to man in his highest, deepest, and most personal consciousness, so the Giver of this spirit, God himself, is present to man through his heart just as nature is present to him through his senses. No sensible object can so seize upon the mind and irresistibly prove itself real, as those absolute objects, the true, the good, the beautiful, and the sublime, which can be seen with the eye of the spirit. We venture the bold speech that we believe in God because we see him, although he cannot be seen with the eye of this body." This spiritual vision is quite as clear as the physical; it is attended with no less feeling immediately produced in the soul, than comes to the soul through the office of the outward eye. It is not the eye that sees, but the soul by means of the eye. Such seeing is mediate, while Jacobi, if he sees God at all, must see him immediately, with no Moses and no organ of sense to stand between. Actual perception is not denied to sensation when it is referred to its cause. Who shall dispute that this intuition of an invisible Deity possesses at least as high claims to the character of a real perception as the sensations, exposed as they are to the defects of the physical body? May not the intuition even have some advantage, in the certainty of the objective existence over mediate knowledge, at least to the subject of it?

Sir William Hamilton maintains that in intuition cognition is given unconditionally as a fact, while, in all representative perception the cognition is problematical. Should it be objected that Hamilton assumed, in the intuition of which he speaks, that the mind is conscious of only its own modification without relation to any object beyond the sphere of conscious-

ness, it ought to be sufficient to show that Jacobi's claims find ample room for realization under the careful definitions of this most astute philosopher. We do not understand Jacobi to claim that his intuitions reach to a cause, which, as perceived, is outside of himself, but rather that this knowledge is simple, and contains in it, as Hamilton himself says, "nothing beyond the mere consciousness, by that which knows, of that which is known." This consciousness of necessity cannot reach out and take hold of the external; but if the external be spiritual in its nature, as it cannot impress itself upon any physical sense, so no physical barrier can obstruct its approach to the center of thought and feeling. Accordingly, Jacobi can say that "God himself is present to man in the heart," and that the human spirit contains "a shadow of the divine knowledge and will."

In this light we can understand our philosopher's meaning when he maintains that man reveals God, while nature conceals him:

> But is it unreasonable to confess that we believe in God, not by reason of the nature which conceals him, but by reason of the supernatural in man, which alone reveals and proves him to exist? *Nature conceals God;* for through her whole domain nature reveals only fate, only an indissoluble chain of mere efficient causes without beginning and without end, excluding with equal necessity both providence and chance. . . . *Man reveals God;* for man, by his intelligence, rises above nature, and in virtue of this intelligence is conscious of himself as a power not only independent of but opposed to nature, and capable of resisting, conquering, and controlling her. As man has a living faith in this power, superior to nature, which dwells in him; so has he a belief in God, a feeling, an experience of his existence.

This doctrine is perfectly consistent, as Jacobi claims, with the criticism of Kant, though it cannot be harmonized with the doctrines of Spinoza. Indeed, Kant's demonstration that the pure reason finds no certainty in practical things, not only admitted but even called for Jacobi's doctrine of a direct intuitive cognition of things-in-themselves. This intuition tramples upon the mechanism theory of the universe, and, rising above the defects of demonstration, gazes boldly upon the revealed face of the one great Cause that reason had long since declared to be immanent in all forms of being and becoming.

This noblest function of the soul Jacobi did not uniformly

denominate "faith," especially in his later writings. This term was too liable to be understood to imply a blind, irrational belief on the mere authority of others. To avoid so great a misconception of his doctrine Jacobi used the term "reason," (*Vernunft*,) meaning, not the logical faculty, but the power to perceive directly in contrast with the understanding which is confined to the range of the demonstrable. The term "faith," therefore, when used by Jacobi, implied the surest possible kind of knowledge, but a knowledge which in its very nature cannot be communicated to another by a syllogistic method. This is why the light in the heart was quenched when brought into the understanding. That light conveyed the divine image, which in the order of nature must be felt in order to be known. We cannot always describe what we have seen with our natural vision; much less can we expect to impart to another the first-fruits of our spiritual seeing. The Apostle Paul said it was not lawful to utter the things which were revealed to him when "caught up into paradise." Similarly, doubtless, is it unlawful—*impossible* on account of the disabilities of our nature—for a man to formulate and communicate to another all of the religious experiences of his heart, even after they have so entered into his being that torture and death cannot induce him to deny them. This is the philosophy of the believer's testimony, daily declared in the sanctuary and daily disputed in the mart, "I *know* that my Redeemer liveth."

Owing to a lack of this experience the unbelieving naturally question the legitimateness of this faith, or at least ask the believer to prove a necessary connection between the mental phenomena on which he rests his faith and any objective cause. Suppose we make a similar demand of themselves. Can they show any necessary connection between the best established facts in science and any objective cause? All knowledge hangs upon a chain, some links of which are hidden, so that, without the exercise of a large practical faith, no science would be possible. When we trace the phenomena involved in a single perception of an outward object through the eye, we are charmed with the delicate offices of different parts of that organ; but when the light, in obedience to optical laws, has painted a beautiful inverted image of the object on the fine tissue of the

retina, the physical phenomena of vision can be traced no further; they cease or disappear as motion, or physical change, and re-appear at once as intellectual perception—something which bears no discoverable resemblance to any of the physical phenomena of seeing. The chain of causes in all perceptions goes out of sight, some links are hidden.

According to Lotze,* "We shall never be able to prove that it lies in the nature of any motion . . . of itself to cease as motion and be reproduced as illuminating brilliancy, as sound, or as sweetness of taste." The motion here referred to is the sensible or physical part of the phenomena of sensation. The causal nexus between a wave, whether in the eye or in the air, and the mental conception of light, no man has ever discovered, but the scientist and the philosopher alike, together with universal humanity, accept with a practical assurance that cannot be shaken the testimony of their consciousness to the objective reality of the things perceived through any organ of sense. In unscientific terms, then, we may say that we know the things within reach of our senses because we *feel* them.

Feeling is the function of all the afferent nerves, and in some mysterious way we hear, taste, see, etc., by feeling. All the mechanism of our organs of sense is necessary to bring the physical within the grasp of the spiritual. By the aid of this mechanism we feel, as science insists, not the object, but some quality of the object appropriate to the sense in exercise. The universal consciousness, however, will have it that we feel *a body* thus and thus conditioned or qualified. Science says we feel the broad waves of light, or, practically, the redness of a physical body. Consciousness maintains that we see *a red body*. It is hazardous to quarrel with universal consciousness. Moreover, it would be unreasonable to reject, concerning the character of the phenomena, the testimony of the only authority by which its actuality had been, or could be, established. We *dare* not, therefore, banish the physical universe from our philosophy; we *cannot* banish it from our consciousness. God himself, in fashioning us so that we are thus compelled to recognize in our daily lives an objective universe, has involved his own veracity in the validity of these intuitions of our consciousness.

**Mikrokosmus*, vol. i, p. 161; Leipzig. 1856.

If we admit, as we seem forced to, that mind and matter can communicate, while their natures are so very unlike, much less should it be thought incredible that mind should be able to convey thought to another mind of the same nature. No mechanism can simplify or explain the perception of the physical; it simply makes it mysteriously possible. The same intuitional power that magically reveals to us a physical universe and enforces its acceptance may similarly discover the Cause of the universe and enforce a belief in that Cause. This it does, and no human race is known that has not some notion of God.

Clearer and more full than this universal faith are the direct revelations to the spiritually minded, who, like Socrates and Jacobi, seem to have found a shorter way to the knowledge of God than through the regularly accredited prophets. This personal inspiration seems to resemble, in the strength of the conviction which it carries, that instinct which Kant has denominated "the voice of God." Brute instinct is concerned with nothing but what is essential to the well-being of the species. All this it fails not to supply. Birds know how to build nests, but they do not know how they know, or what principles require them to build as they do. Men know no more about the instincts that supplement reason in their own species. God supplies whatever is out of reach that is essential to any of his creatures. In endowing man with a soul God fixed upon him another necessity quite as urgent as the preservation of his body, namely, the preservation of his soul. The Creator is, then, under an equal, or still greater, obligation to supply whatever is demanded by the interests of our spiritual nature. It is not unreasonable, therefore, that we should listen for the voice of God in a new revelation. Jacobi and millions more say they hear it. They find revealed in it the Almighty and an endless life. They *touch*, as it were, the suprasensible, and *know* it by a sort of spiritual empiricism. They are profoundly convinced. The demonstrations of the spirit are irresistible, but if denied, they can no more be forced upon a skeptic than the axioms of geometry.

We cannot too highly applaud the opinion of Victor Cousin, that "the error of Jacobi's school was not to see that this truth-speaking enthusiasm is only a purer and higher application of reason, in such manner that faith has its root in reason." This

"enthusiasm," in the mouth of Cousin, suggests no reproach, but rather implies a reason which flies while the syllogism creeps. It must be conceded also that this slower method is, by its very nature, debarred from ever demonstrating the infinite, and thus solving the most essential problems of religion and philosophy; for by the syllogism we can advance to no conclusion except through a more general conception. The term which must thus be included under another cannot contain the Deity, or satisfy the conditions of monotheism. The Highest, therefore, cannot possibly be reached through formal reasoning, and some other resource must be depended upon for this necessity of the soul. Nothing but Jacobi's intuitive cognition can yield the personal apocalypse of God.

When the clear testimony of consciousness is universally recognized as valid, then not only will Jacobi command an unqualified respect among philosophers; but objective science, as well as religion, will find a rational foundation, and, according to the claim of Drobisch, we shall realize in the philosophy of religion "the key-stone of the philosophical arch."

NOTE.—Further expression and some modification of Jacobi's views will be found in the writings of J. G. Hamann and Jacob Fries, as well as those of Herder, Schleiermacher and Hamilton. Compare also Wesley and Mansel, who have much in common with these doctrines.

ART. V.—ALZOG'S CHURCH HISTORY.

Manual of Universal Church History. By Rev. Dr. JOHN ALZOG, Professor of Theology at the University of Freiburg. Translated, with additions, from the ninth and last German edition, by F. J. PABISCH, Doctor of Canon and Civil Law, etc., Mount St. Mary's Seminary, Cincinnati, O., and Rev. THOS. S. BYRNE, Professor at Mount St. Mary's Seminary. In three volumes. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1874, 1876, 1878.

1. In his inimitable "Constitutional History of England," Canon Stubbs remarks: "The roots of the present lie deep in the past, and nothing in the past is dead to the man who would learn how the present comes to be what it is."

When we understand how any thing *has become* what *it is* we understand its *history*. Indeed, its history is the process of *becoming* what *it is*, and the record of this process constitutes its recorded history.

This was the thought which insensibly actuated the Magdeburg Centuriators when they determined to justify the Reformation of the sixteenth century by giving a complete sketch of the history of the Christian Church. By showing how Rome had become what it then was, Christian Europe would best understand how wide had been the departure from the simplicity and purity of the primitive Church as established by Christ and his immediate apostles, and would best feel the necessity of returning to this normal condition of faith and life. While the Catholic view of the Church is that she is the same "yesterday, to-day, and forever"—only extending the sphere of her operations, but never losing or changing her spirit—the early Reformers, and the Protestants of to-day, affirm that between the apostolic times and our own there have been introduced into the Romish Church an almost innumerable multitude of innovations which entirely set aside her claim to spiritual and doctrinal unity—*semper eadem*. The Centuriators believed that what was given as a perfect germ by Christ and the college of apostles would be developed, unfolded, and expanded under the providence of God during the succeeding ages, and thus the Church become what she is destined to be—the guiding and saving force in human history. To point out, by a continuous narrative founded on original authorities, how Rome had perverted this purpose, and, instead of being an ever-increasing light and a leavening power for good, she had brought the Church into an ever-deepening shadow, into a gloomier superstition, and into a more shameful life, was the immediate object of this association of Protestant scholars. The key to this whole movement is found in their estimate of Rome; namely, that she is antichrist, and that, as antichrist, she has misled and deceived the elect of God. Nearly every thing which they wrote was influenced by this opinion; hence, very considerable extravagance is found in portions of their history. Nevertheless, few can examine the writings of these almost pioneers in the work of Church history without admiring the keenness of their insight; the thoroughness of their analysis of evidence; the readiness with which they set aside a multitude of pretenses of the Romish Church which had grown hoary with the centuries; the prompt rejection of the foundation of the whole superstructure—the primacy of Peter; the sharp analysis of the

historic evidence of the visitation of Peter to Rome at all; and the clearness with which they show how absurd and arrogant is the claim to build a fabric so massive and overshadowing on a foundation so narrow and so sandy. The view which these men entertained was evidently that of a dualism: that good and evil, light and darkness, truth and error, had been struggling for the mastery during the entire enactment of the Christian history. Their conception of the uses of writing a good Church history, and of placing it in the hands of the members of the Christian communion, is noteworthy. It was this: By this means the idea of the Christian Church will be placed before the mind as in a picture; the persistent agreement of all ages in certain articles of religious confession will appear; the origin and progress of errors and wickedness, especially the beginnings and growth of antichrist, will become evident; the correct and invariable standard by which heresies are to be judged will be discovered; the origin and nature of the government of the Church will be seen; how much of what was original has been retained, how much this original has been departed from, can thus be judged; the marks of a true Church and of a false Church, and especially how the latter has, by its fearful might and error, overslaughed the former, will be furnished. Thus will also be clearly seen how God, from time to time, has raised up heroes, by whose devoted efforts the pure doctrines of the Saviour and of his apostles have been repreached, and the purity of worship has been again restored. With these Centuriators dogma was the one grand, all-important thought. Their attention was directed, with an all-absorbing earnestness, to the determination of the truth or falsity of doctrine. In their belief this was the occasion of that manifest dualism in Church history which must become more and more marked until antichrist shall be destroyed by the brightness of the coming of the Son of Man.

How successfully these scholars accomplished the task which they had proposed is best seen from the fact that their history was the veriest fire-brand in the Romish fortress, and called forth in reply the most remarkable historical work which the Romish Church has ever yet produced. It required thirty years of almost incessant toil for Cæsar Baronius to traverse the ground over which these Magdeburg scholars had passed, in order to

write an answer to this terrible historical charge against the unfaithfulness and apostasy of the Church of which he was so eminent a cardinal. He, too, recognizes and defends as sharp a dualism in Christian history as the Centuriators themselves; but with him the heretics and Protestants are antichrist. While scarcely recognizing, either in the preface or in the body of his work, his able opponents, Baronius boldly maintains the primacy of Peter, and defends the genuineness of some documents which have long since been proved spurious by Catholic historians themselves.*

These two pioneer works in the department of Church history were diligently worked out, and were very similar in the spirit which actuated their preparation and publication. Both alike recognize a system of dualism in the earthly history of the kingdom of Christ; both deal in strong charges and countercharges; both affirm and deny with about equal confidence; both proceed upon the thought that the kernel and essence of Church history must concern dogma; and both about equally overlook the fact that a true spirituality and purity of thought and life must be the abiding criterion of the genuineness of any Church.

Ofttimes has the inquiry been started whether there cannot be found some middle ground upon which these two confessions may meet, and where the sharp and violent contradictions which now are noticeable between these two opposing Church histories may find their reconciliation and harmony. Must there necessarily be in the history of the Christian Church this manifest dualism which each of these systems equally and most strenuously insists upon? Can there be any possibility of evolving from these two an essential unity, where no sacrifice of truth will be necessary, and where the Church may truly appear as the bride of Christ, decked with the jewels of beauty and purity? The answer to this most important question, however painful it may be to those who are forever picturing some outward and constrained unity, must be this: So long as the Papal Church shall tenaciously hold to its dogma of tradition, so long must these sections of the Church remain disunited. If the

* See Baur, "Epochen der kirchlichen Geschichtschreibung," 2ter absch. s.s. 39–84. To this work we have been indebted for many statements in this section of the paper.

Christian Church must be a stranger to development and progress; if every thing is declared to be fixed, immobile, as it was in the beginning; if the parable of the Lord—"first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear" (Mark iv, 28)—is regarded as but a vexing mockery; then must Protestantism continue its protest, and Catholicism can take no other view of Church history than the one so thoroughly developed by Baronius, and which has been followed, with few departures from his essential principles, for the last two hundred and fifty years. Modern Catholics have been more or less affected by the spirit of progress, which fills the very air in these later times, and their historians have put on an appearance of liberality. The unification of Italy, and the secularization of the education of her peoples, have placed within the reach of scholars sources of information which were closed for centuries. The commission recently issued by Leo XIII. to Cardinal Hergenröther, to submit a new plan for arranging the Vatican archives in order to make them more accessible to scholars, promises to be of incalculable value to the future historians of the Church. But all this has come from without, and has not been a spontaneous movement even of the present liberal pontiff. The demand of the awakened and newly energized Italian scholars is that these, and all historic materials, shall come to the light to tell whatever story they may, irrespective of the fame or good name of pope or prince. But we are reluctantly forced to believe that this seeming liberality of the more recent historians of the Catholic Church pertains for the most part to merest secondary and non-essential forms and fashions, while essentially the same spirit now breathes through their writings which is found in these annals of Baronius.

2. If, then, we are to find truest and essential progress in the treatment of Church history, we must seek it outside of the Catholic communion; indeed, we should expect it in a communion which accepted progress and development as the great underlying law of the life of the Christian Church. It would, therefore, also appear that the problems proposed by the Protestant ecclesiastical historian are deeper and truly fundamental. By as much more delicate and subtle as are the problems connected with a living, developing organism, by so much more vital and far-reaching are the problems of history as they are

discussed by the Protestant theologian. With the very thought of progress and development come stimulus and inspiration. To believe that we can hasten or retard the coming of this kingdom of God, that we can be instrumental in ushering in the day when the whole earth shall be covered with more than a pristine glory, must quicken the energies of every thoughtful servant of God. This view of the progress and perfection of the Church furnishes one potent reason of the recurring attempts of Protestant writers to develop Church history as a consistent and harmonious whole, and also affords a reason for the general superiority of their works.

Prior to Mosheim, historians, both Catholic and Protestant, wrote in a polemical spirit; their works are in the interest of a party; consequently they possess little scientific value. Mosheim was a pioneer in another field. To remove the accumulated *débris*; to shift entirely the ground; to study Church history as secular history is studied; to develop its effects from true and efficient causes; to eliminate, therefore, the large supernatural element that had been so easily accepted; to discriminate between legend and strict historic truth—these were some of the objects which he proposed to accomplish. He begins with a *definition* of Church history, and then develops his work in strict accord with this definition. His definition was new and exceptionally comprehensive. "It is a clear narration of what has happened, both externally and internally, to the society of Christians, in such manner that from the connection of the causes and effects may be clearly seen the divine foreknowledge in the foundation and preservation of the Church, and we ourselves may become wiser and more devoted." He compares this society to a State, whose condition has been constantly shifting through internal and external influences. These external and internal circumstances he makes the basis of his prime divisions of Church history: the external has to relate what this Christian society has experienced of favorable or adverse fortune; the internal has respect to Christianity as a system of religion, and must treat of the revolutions which have taken place in thought, doctrine, and life.*

The objection to this view is that it makes the Church little, if any thing, more than a human society; it robs it of that dis-

* Baur, "Epochen," p. 120.

tinctive character which is made so prominent in the Christian Scriptures, namely, that she is the Bride of Christ, his precious spouse in whom he specially delights, and for whose care his unchanging love is pledged.

A still more earnest and thoroughly philosophical treatment was suggested by Schroeck, and ably wrought out by Planck, Henke, and others. It is usually known as the pragmatic method of history. Mosheim, as we have seen, was a pragmatist; but in his desire to eliminate the legendary and the pseudo-miraculous he had for the most part confined his pragmatism to the study of antecedents and consequents. His successors pushed their inquiries still further. The result was a pragmatism more profound and philosophical, which has yielded the richest results to earnest, conscientious toilers. Yet this method is threatened with danger from two opposite sources. There is a philosophy which recognizes only the subjective, which finds in mind the all of the universe. It greatly underrates the importance of phenomenal life, and the powerful influence of physical circumstances. The pragmatism resulting from this philosophy may be very imperfect and misleading. The relation of cause and effect is not overlooked, but cause and effect will be regarded as *merely* spiritual and subjective. This school may be easily tempted to measure these causes by standards which they have set up, and be justly chargeable with evolving history from their own consciousness. The danger from the opposite quarter is equally threatening. Causes and effects may be regarded as pertaining to the phenomenal alone. With this class of pragmatists, the spiritual becomes a synonym for the unreal, the fanciful. To admit these hidden, subtle forces into the problem of human history seems to them unscientific and misleading. With them physical nature is the most potent factor to be examined. If we are to admit other forces, they are men and circumstances. Spiritual energies, opinions, policies, theories, doctrines, creeds, these have no power *per se* to determine the varied and marvelous results witnessed on the theater of this world's enactment. The spirit of Church history is thus largely eliminated. The idea of a "kingdom of heaven" among men is completely secularized. The inspiring visions of the seers of the old, and of the apostles of the new dispensation, become strange delusions. The light and the joy

which come from the thought of the abiding presence of God in history are extinguished.

These opposite dangers of a pragmatic method must be avoided, and their seeming contradictions be harmonized, by finding, back of this outward play of phenomena, a spirit which gives to these phenomena their worth and significance. It is this combination of the subjective with the objective, of the natural with the supernatural, of the freedom of the creature with the personality and governorship of God, of the work of men as the representatives of the spirit of an age with that unity of purpose and that universality of plan which must ever be embraced in any worthy and satisfying theory of human history—it is these which constitute the crowning excellence of the history of Neander, and lift it far above all the productions of his predecessors and most of those of his contemporaries.

It may be seriously doubted whether the writing of Church history has not gone through all its possible phases, and whether future historians must not, to a greater or less degree, merely put in varying relations the principles which have already been suggested and practiced by these different schools. The bitter complaint of Buckle, that history is the least scientific of all subjects of human investigation, must continue so long as we believe that there is a power of human will, and a power of miracle-working, which can modify physical circumstances, and from time to time can let down upon the arena of human struggling some new and regenerating power, which shall hold in check the evil, and stimulate the good and the true to achieve an abiding victory.

3. We may now be better prepared to determine the place which is occupied by the work whose title stands at the head of this article, and to estimate its real value. This manual is in three large octavo volumes, of about one thousand pages each, containing appropriate prefaces, synoptical, chronological, and conciliary tables, and good maps which show the diffusion of the Church under Roman rule and during the Middle Ages; also maps of the world, of Western and Southern Europe and Western Asia, and of North America. The text is a translation from the German of Rev. Dr. John Alzog, Professor of Theology in the University of Freiburg, executed by F. J.

Pabisch, Doctor of Theology, of Canon and of Civil Law, President of the Provincial Seminary of Mount St. Mary's of the West, Cincinnati, Ohio; and Rev. Thomas S. Byrne, Professor in Mount St. Mary's Seminary. The original German manual has passed to its ninth edition, and a French translation has reached its fourth edition. In the preface the translators inform us that it is used as a text-book in almost all Catholic seminaries, in twenty universities, and in many institutions of learning in Europe and America, where the German or French is understood. This all argues a great popularity, and shows that the book has supplied a felt need. It is now for the first time given in English dress. The justification of the translation, according to the preface to the first volume, is the notorious inadequacy of all existing manuals of Church history in the English language, and the confessed inferiority of all handbooks in use in France and Belgium, and their total inefficiency either to prepare the student for serious studies, or create and foster a taste for the higher branches of learning. The great superiority of German manuals, "written with the special purpose of facilitating historical instruction," is heartily acknowledged, and of these numerous works it is claimed that this of Alzog is without a rival. The vast literary attainments of the author, his extended experience of about forty years as an instructor and professor of Church history in various universities, and the fact that he was called to Rome in 1867 to assist in the preparatory work of the Vatican Council, are given as sufficient grounds of confidence in the thoroughness of the work, and of its accord with the Church in whose communion he is, and of which he is so bright an ornament. The preface goes on to give opinions, and to quote from leading Catholic reviews to show how high a place this work occupies in the esteem of Catholic scholars. Besides a full acquaintance with ordinary sources, he has made himself absolute master of the profound science of Germany. "One feels that the works of the immortal Möhler, of Döllinger, Ruttenstock, and Katerkamp, are perfectly familiar to him." So says the *Nouveau Monde*, of Montreal, Canada. The *Bibliographie Catholique* says: "There are in this work extensive learning, immense and conscientious research, a well-sustained treatment and methodical plan, a just appreciation of facts, and a comprehensive

and correct survey." Other quotations from other notices are given, and the translators add:

It may be stated here that Dr. Alzog has made almost as extensive use of Protestant and infidel as of Catholic writers. The names of Gieseler, Engelhardt, Neander, Carl Hase, and many others, will at once come up to the memory of those acquainted with his work. His first object was to gain reliable information, and it mattered little whence it came, if it was to his purpose. It is this broad, impartial, and catholic spirit of investigation which gives to his history its peculiar worth, and which should recommend it to men of every creed and shade of opinion.

The translators represent both the German and the English language, and thus they believe they can at the same time secure fidelity to the original as well as a certain elegance of diction. While they depart more or less from the literal and verbal expression, the translators claim to be scrupulously faithful. They have added considerably to the volume, especially on the pontificate of Pius IX., the Vatican Council, the notice of the history and progress of the Jesuit missions in North America, and also to the list of authorities, which were not given by Alzog himself. Moreover, the original work, as well as this translation and enlargement, have the unqualified indorsement of the Archbishops of Cincinnati and of Baltimore, two of the foremost scholars of the Catholic communion in this country; hence we may safely infer that this manual is expressive of the belief and opinion of the most advanced thinkers of the Catholic Church in America on the leading and most vital questions of Church history. Again, the author himself says what each candid thinker must readily indorse:

A thorough and complete acquaintance with the religious condition, *internal* and *external*, of the Church the passing and past years included in this interval is all the more necessary to the theologian, in that as a pastor of souls he is in daily contact with the practical affairs of life, and should at once help to revive and exert an influence upon religious principles and moral conduct; and this he cannot do if he possess not the information requisite to give meaning and purpose to his endeavors.—Vol. iii, p. 627.

4. Let us examine this work with reference to these claims to exceptional thoroughness, truthfulness, and liberality. It is evident that Alzog is thoroughly imbued with the spirit of

the most approved methods of writing Church history which Protestant historians have devised or accepted. Indeed, his work, as compared with almost all contemporary Catholic handbooks, is wrought out with exceptional earnestness and care. In the examination of the original sources and authorities, and in their careful and exhaustive study, Alzog seems almost a peer of Niedner, Hase, and Baur. To say that he has so thoroughly immersed himself in the life and thought of the early Christian centuries as Neander would not be at all truthful; for no other man has ever, perhaps, so fully drunk in the spirit of the martyr and heroic age of Christianity, and so sensitively felt its very life-throbs. He who could become insensible to the stirring current events of his own age by living among the struggles, the persecutions, the martyrdoms, the joys and the triumphs, of the Christian Church on earth, was best prepared to reflect this life in his immortal history. That Alzog has so thoroughly studied and so accurately classified and verified the sources of Church history as Gieseler, will not be claimed by his most enthusiastic admirers. This is not to condemn the history on these grounds, since the scope of these two authors is very different, and one Giesecler in a century is all that the world can reasonably expect. That Alzog and his translators will satisfy the expectations of the Protestant world would be to demand impossibilities. Each of the two divisions of the Western Church must work out its Church history in strict accordance with its peculiar philosophy of religion and life. In each the theory of the Church, of its nature and polity, of christology, of anthropology, and even of eschatology, must be so peculiar, that Church histories written in accord with these diverse opinions must necessarily be often diverse in spirit and sometimes contradictory in statement. As we have before intimated, it seems that these two great systems must move on side by side, like great currents in the ocean, without once commingling. We are prepared, therefore, for the expression of Catholic opinions when we are studying a Catholic historian. But we should judge the works of both communions alike by their spirit of candor, earnestness, thorough scholarship, and pure love of the truth. By applying certain great crucial tests are we to find the confirmation or the contradiction of the claims of the translators to the candor

and honest writing of their author. Men may be wide apart in statement, and in the results reached by their reasoning on a series of facts. In such case there is reason for great charity, provided a manifest candor, a loving adherence to truth wherever it may lead, and a sincere sorrow for error, appear in the discussions. We must entirely agree with the author, that the demand of the ancients that a historian should have neither country nor religion, and the similar claim of a class of modern critics that he should be free from prejudice, are neither reasonable nor possible. Historic impartiality is entirely different in its aims and claims. It only requires that "the historian shall not knowingly and intentionally change facts which appear to tell against his religious convictions, but shall investigate them, narrate them as he finds them, and pass judgment upon them with prudence and moderation; and, secondly, that he shall frankly acknowledge and openly confess the possible shortcoming of his Church—for silence here would be more damaging than beneficial to her cause."—Vol. i, p. 14.

From the preliminary definitions usual to the German handbooks, the author proceeds to give a fair survey of the ancient world and its relation to Christianity. Evidently he is not captivated with the claims of the historic evolutionists, that barbarism was the primitive condition of the race, and that the race has been developed to its present high mental and moral position by force of natural or material surroundings; but rather is Alzog inclined to take the vigorous statement of the first chapter of Romans as furnishing a key to much of the world's mental and moral obliquity, and also to attach very considerable importance to the wide-spread traditions of a golden age. The author is, however, very clear in his recognition of the grand propædeutic character of the pre-Christian civilizations. The exact philosophical language of the Greeks; the unifying legal element of the Romans; the tenaciously monotheistic thought of the Hebrews; the subtle speculation of the Indian mind; the quite carefully elaborated doctrine of the Egyptians "relative to the state of man after death and his condition in a future world," though mingled with a thoroughly degrading animal worship; and even pagan art, which "had so fostered a love of the beautiful among men of education and refinement that Christianity had at hand ample means for conveying to

men's minds the fullest idea of its interior harmony and beauty"—all these are briefly but quite clearly dwelt upon as preparing the whole world for that "fullness of time." These topics have engaged the powers of some of the most brilliant writers of modern times. The results of the most recent investigations in the department of comparative religion are not so thoroughly digested as could be desired. The wonderfully rich contributions to this department of religious philosophy which have been made, especially by Christian missionaries, could hardly be expected to be incorporated into a preliminary chapter of a hand-book of Church history; yet it is plain that the historian of the Church, as well as the Christian apologist, must take into careful consideration the later discoveries of these patient scholars.

In the discussion of historic questions we must be careful not to demand a species of evidence which is not at all pertinent to this department of inquiry. Absolute demonstration in this domain being generally impossible, and moral evidence alone being admissible, the duties of the Church historian are made thereby more grave and sacred. There is scarcely an historic fact which may not admit of diverse statements. It is, therefore, only by the most patient and conscientious sifting of testimony, by holding the balance with a judicial hand and noting the direction of preponderating evidence, that reliable results can be reached. It should not be attempted to bring into undue prominence every thing which may make for a preconceived theory, and omit or beclond the importance of all which may contravene it. This is partisanship; it is not historic honesty. The immense difficulty of this task is readily conceded; but the grand superiority of the philosophical historian over the mere advocate or apologist appears all the more conspicuously as he calmly walks these fields where have raged the fiercest contests and have burned the hottest passions. We have been led to these reflections by canvassing Alzog's treatment of almost every question that is in controversy. Take, first, the subject of a celibate priesthood. We cannot but regard his examination as partial, defended by garbled quotations, by special pleading, and by perversion of Scripture teaching. It stands in striking contrast to the judicial treatment of this vexed question by Neander and Mosheim. When the author says that

"celibacy was quite general" in the Church of the second century, it is manifest that the assertion is not supported by the facts of history; and when he adds that "the prejudice in favor of a continent life among the clergy was so deeply rooted in the popular mind, and so sensitive of its honor, that the faintest suspicion of sinful intercourse with females caused the greatest scandal," we are surprised at the author's attempt in this to confound two totally distinct questions, one of which is readily allowed, the other stoutly denied. The examination of the Scripture teachings on this subject (vol. i, p. 404) is partial, and lacking in thorough scholarship. The passages in 1 Tim. iv, where the teachings of those who forbid to marry are ranked with the "doctrine of devils," is entirely untouched, while by far the most thorough and exhaustive treatise on the subject of priestly celibacy is omitted from the list of authorities. We refer, of course, to the history of the Brothers Johann Anton and Augustin Theiner, which was a veritable fire-brand in the Catholic Church. The book was so far as possible suppressed, and one of the authors was called at length to be keeper of the Vatican archives, and to write down what he had earlier published, while the other passed over to the Protestant Church.

It is no part of this paper to discuss the question of the propriety or the purer morality of a condition of celibacy; but, in respect to the *enforced* celibacy of the clergy of any Church, the thoughtful must continue to feel astonishment and indignation, since the physiologist must ever pronounce against this most harsh and unnatural injunction, and history is burdened with the record of its wretched and scandalous effects. Equally, as in his own time, is the verdict of good Jeremy Taylor just and true: "This law of the Church was an evil law; . . . it was not a law of God; it was against the rights and necessities of nature; . . . it was a law against public honesty, because it did openly and secretly introduce dishonesty. It was not to be endured that, upon the pretense of an unconscionable perfection, so much impiety should be brought into the Church, and so many souls thrust down to hell." (See "Of the Power of the Church in Canons and Censures," Rule xx.

The pontificate of Gregory VII. has furnished a most inspiring theme for the ecclesiastical and secular historian alike. The massive powers of the man; the exceptional purity of his

life; his vast design for forming a universal theocracy, whose earthly head he should be; his stubborn persistence in pushing his plans to a consummation; his protracted contest with Henry IV., whose humiliation the German people have not forgotten, and never quite forgiven; his failure to realize his magnificent schemes in the West—these, and many other themes, give to the history of this truly great man an exceptional interest. It is to be expected that so ardent a Catholic as Alzog would revel in the history of a pontificate which more clearly than any other, perhaps, reveals the Romish Church in its true spirit and purpose. "While freely admitting that the plans and actions of Gregory were sometimes extravagant," it is plain that the writer is warmly sympathetic with the theory and aims of this far-seeing prelate; and here is found the *experimentum crucis* by which we are to test the sincerity of modern apologists for Rome's attempt to render civil allegiance secondary and subject to papal authority. In the universal hierarchy which Hildebrand would found, the spiritual power was to stand related to the temporal as the sun to the moon. Temporal princes were to be compelled to bow before the supremacy of God's law, and to recognize him as the source of their jurisdiction and power; and, since the Pope was his vicegerent on earth, necessarily the thrones of this world should all lean upon the apostolic see. It is to this pontificate that we are to look for the clear enunciation of a principle which has been prevalent in the Romish Church from that day to this, and whose reiteration from time to time, now more clearly and positively, now more mildly and guardedly, has compelled the enactment by Protestant and other governments of those statutes which have worked untold harm to religion, and have been a serious hinderance to the progress of civil freedom. This is the principle which compelled the recognition of Gallicanism in France, which, in turn, degenerated into a soulless tyranny in State equally dreadful to that from which they had sought to escape. This led the enactors of the tyrannical statutes of "supremacy" and "uniformity" during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth to justify their legislation on the principle of self-defense and the sovereignty of States. This kept the Catholics, during so many reigns, under those terrible political and social disabilities which seem so disgraceful to a State which has rejoiced in a liberal constitutional

government. This embittered English against Irish, and Irish against English, through so many years of fiercest struggle over "Catholic Emancipation." This is the claim which has led Mr. Gladstone and other thinkers to make the severe arraignments of the Romish Church, and to insist that she must yield her oft-repeated boast of *semper eadem*, or be guilty of wretched duplicity in asserting that faithful subjects of Rome can at the same time preserve supreme loyalty to civil government.

Nor can we account for the severe enactments against Catholics which disgraced the statute books of England so many years upon simple religious grounds. It is true that, while the Reformed Church owed her very life to the right of private judgment, toleration and liberty of conscience were very little recognized. "Conformity with the new faith, as with the old, was enforced by the dungeon, the scaffold, the gibbet, and the torch." "A prince, being God's deputy, ought to punish impieties against God," said Archbishop Cranmer to Edward VI. See Lecky, "Rationalism in Europe," chap. v. But an added reason is manifest in the fact that the Catholics of Elizabeth's day contested her right to the crown and plotted against her throne. Hence treason came to be associated with their religion. The severe measures of her reign were primarily designed to protect the State, but were, doubtless, greatly intensified by religious hatred. State and Church were so intimately blended that it was difficult to make nice discriminations between civil and religious loyalty. See May's "Constitutional History," chap. xi. It is plain that Rome had not, at the time of the re-enactment of the severe laws under Elizabeth, abandoned her claim to temporal supremacy. The "Act of Supremacy" would have been totally unmeaning in the presence and recognition of an undisputed duty of civil allegiance to Elizabeth, on the part of her Catholic subjects. The publication, in 1570, by Pius V., of his bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, and the absolution of her subjects from their allegiance and civil duties, is the plainest answer to those who pretend that the "Act of Supremacy" was aimed only at a hated religion. The continuance of this statute under the Stuart dynasty was in consequence of the doubt honestly entertained by the wisest and most liberal English statesmen as to the possibility of reconciling the claims of Rome with an

unreserved and undamaged civil loyalty. The period of the Commonwealth illustrates the same truth. Milton, it is true, would exempt even Socinians, Anabaptists, and Arians from suffering through the spirit of intolerance; he made an exception of the Catholics only on the ground that their religion was idolatrous, and idolatry should not be tolerated publicly or privately. But good Jeremy Taylor, under the Restoration, expresses himself very clearly in favor of the toleration of Catholics, unless they openly preach such doctrines as the non-observance of faith with heretics, *or that a Pope can absolve subjects from the oath of allegiance, or that a heretical prince may be slain by his people.* Doubtless many continued their opposition to "Catholic Relief" from mere hatred of Catholic tenets, irrespective of the question of the public safety. But the utterances, from time to time, of the occupants of the Chair of St. Peter kept alive this suspicion, and thwarted the efforts of the friends of civil and religious equality to secure the passage of "Relief Bills," which were reported at almost every parliamentary session for nearly a century. So powerful was this suspicion to influence the course of public men, that, to relieve the Catholics from its burden, the well-known party of the "Protesting Catholic Dissenters" was formed in Ireland. This sect distinctly protested against the Pope's temporal authority, and against his right to excommunicate kings, and absolve subjects from their allegiance. A distinct bill, giving relief to the members of this society, was reported in 1791. So intense was the feeling which this bill awakened, and so thoroughly in earnest were the chief leaders in regard to this question of an undamaged civil allegiance of the Catholic subjects, that even Mr. Pitt addressed letters to several Catholic universities of the continent, in which the civil jurisdiction of the Pope over British subjects was distinctly submitted. Replies from several of these universities were to the effect that Catholics claimed for the Pope no power to absolve British subjects from their allegiance, and no right whatever to interfere with the civil government of that realm. But the more clear-sighted public men of that day were unable to allay their honest apprehensions, however inclined they might be to grant to Catholic subjects the largest freedom consistent with the safety of the realm. They knew that these utterances of the

universities were *mere opinions;* they had in them no single element of *authority.* They clearly understood that, especially from the time of the Council of Constance, even Ecumenical Councils had been denied a determining authority; and what satisfaction could they feel at this opinion of university faculties, who could have no guiding influence with the head of the Church? Nevertheless, these statements, and especially the "Declaration" of the vicars-apostolic and their coadjutors, in 1826, "who at that time governed the Catholic Church in Great Britain with episcopal authority," greatly influenced British statesmen, and, to a very considerable degree, also, some of the highest dignitaries of the Established Church. This "Declaration" affirmed that British Catholics held no religious principles nor ideas not perfectly consistent with their duties as Christians and British subjects. It was largely by these and similar assurances that the final passage of the "Catholic Emancipation Bill" was secured in 1829—an act of justice which should long before have received the support of liberal-minded statesmen. Certain it is that from this time there is noted a great revival of Catholicism in England. It is claimed that between the years 1840 and 1852 ninety-two members of the University of Oxford, and forty-three of the University of Cambridge, of whom sixty-three from Oxford, and nineteen from Cambridge, were clergymen, passed over to the Catholic Church. "In 1867 the number of distinguished converts to the Catholic Church in England amounted to eight hundred and sixty-seven, of whom two hundred and forty-three had been Anglican ministers."—Vol. iii, p. 850. But what has been the effect of this leniency and of this revival? Clearly, the revival of the arrogance and of the assumption of authority which during the controversy over "Emancipation" had been studiously kept in the background, and by many had been most stoutly disavowed. In Pius IX. reappeared the spirit of Hildebrand, which embodied itself first in the bull of 1850—by which England was divided into ecclesiastical districts as clearly and boldly as in the thirteenth century—and more offensively in the dogma of infallibility of 1870. These acts have led Gladstone to impose upon the Romish Church the dilemma that she must abandon her favorite boast of *semper eadem*, or acknowledge that she was refurbishing the rusty weapons of the Middle Ages, which

during the progress of the contest for emancipation she stoutly professed to have laid aside. It is plain that Mr. Gladstone's severe arraignments have not been easy to answer; indeed, it may be confidently affirmed that even Cardinal Newman, with all his wealth of learning, has not been able to satisfy the mind of thoughtful Englishmen, simply because he has undertaken an impossible task, impossible from the very nature of the case. And it is the assertion of Alzog, in a grave work which now receives the indorsement of the ablest and most dignified ecclesiastics of the American Catholic Church, that "what was a *political prerogative* during the Middle Ages has remained a *moral right* ever since, and will continue so until the Church ceases to exist; for, morally speaking, *the Pope is an abiding lawgiver to Christendom*"—it is this, which may well put the American people on their guard against the encroachments of this Church, which seems, consistently with her leading dogma, to be only waiting the time when the "political prerogative" shall be again asserted.

It is in giving a final estimate of the period of the "Rise and Height of the Papal Power in the Middle Ages," from the accession of Hildebrand, in 1073, to the death of Boniface VIII., 1303, under a. "General View of the Temporal and Spiritual Power of the Pope," that Alzog's warm sympathy for the genius of the mediæval Church becomes most apparent. We are charmed with the eloquence of some paragraphs of this section, and we most gladly indorse many of the claims of the rights of this Church to rule by virtue of its vast superiority in learning and in the spirit of humanity. That the Church was the very best power during these rude ages few will doubt; and that she was entitled to give laws by virtue of a legitimacy founded on this superiority, most candid historians and right-minded publicists will concede. None have been more earnest in the defense of the mediæval Church in these regards than Protestants themselves. Indeed, some of the rationalistic thinkers of our time have pronounced upon the conserving, ameliorating, and humanizing influence of the Church of this period a more splendid eulogy than has Alzog himself.

All are familiar with the discriminating analysis of the elements of ecclesiastical power given by Guizot, and with the hearty and just tribute to the great and abounding services of

the Church, which he pays. It is not, therefore, in respect to the magnificent benefits which Hildebrand and the successors who realized his policy conferred upon the mediæval world of Western Europe that we dissent from the account of Alzog; in this we can heartily unite. But it is the concealment of the *other* side of this question which constitutes the basis of the denial of the correctness of our author's estimate. It is to the utterance of a half truth, which sometimes becomes more misleading than unmixed error, that the discriminating reader will object. It was in this "respect for liberty," "the second condition of a good government," as stated by Guizot, that Hildebrand failed. It was a "denial of the rights of individual reason, the claim of transmitting points of faith from the highest authority downwards, throughout the whole religious body, without allowing to any one the right of examining them for himself," and "in the right of compulsion assumed by the Romish Church—a right, however, contrary to the very nature and spirit of religious society, to the origin of the Church itself, and to its primitive maxims"—that we arraign the spirit of the pontificate of Gregory VII., and that of his successors down to the death of Boniface VIII. Here is found the kernel of that protest which has been reiterated, not since the sixteenth century alone, but from the hour when the divine Christ said, "If the Son, therefore, shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed," and when his saved apostle brushed aside all veils and human mediators by the glorious declaration, "For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time." Nor can we accept the defense of Alzog as expressed in the following words: "But it is to be noted that it was not the theologians who during the Middle Ages recognized and formulated the rights of the papal sovereignty, but jurists and schools of law."—Vol. ii, p. 636. Who inspired the decisions of the jurists? Who regulated the discussions and the principles inculcated in these schools of law? What could interpose to save those who taught tenets which were in opposition to the well-understood opinions of the Church from the tremendous consequences of papal excommunication?

Canon law and civil law were most intimately blended; and while the jurists formulated the law, this law must be in

general harmony with the prevailing ecclesiasticism. While this expression of Alzog may be *formally* correct, we cannot but believe that he has failed to reach the efficient and inspiring *cause* of these opinions of the jurists. He had really given the reason of all this in the same paragraph, and this addition of the jurists and the schools of law furnishes no new nor more powerful reason for formulating the rights of papal sovereignty. And when Alzog adds that "in matter-of-fact the political supremacy of the Popes has disappeared since the thirteenth century," nothing is contained in the history which leads us to believe that this was in consequence of a voluntary surrender of prerogative by the Popes themselves, but rather by virtue of a force and a principle which were entirely foreign to the theory and policy of Hildebrand and of his successors for two hundred and thirty years. "Grant," as Neander has well expressed it in his estimate of Gregory's theory, "that when not pushed by opposition to this extreme, he recognizes the kingly authority as also ordained of God; only maintaining that it should confine itself within its proper limits, remaining subordinate to the papal power, which is sovereign over all," (and to this opinion Alzog fully subscribes.—Vol. ii, p. 289;) and how; out of this papal assumption, there can come the growth of constitutional freedom, as is intimated by our author, it is difficult for ordinary minds to conceive. And we may be excused for adding that, in the presence of the claim of *semper eadem*, it is just as difficult to understand how in this nineteenth century the Romish Church can teach and foster a spirit of genuine personal and constitutional liberty. When Alzog, therefore, inquires, "Who but the sons of honest artisans and peasants, with miters on their heads and crosiers in their hands, would have had the courage to resist reckless princes and semi-barbarous feudal lords?" we are led also to inquire, Who but such as these had the courage often to array themselves with these same kings and barons in defense of the rights of the people against the insolent and tyrannical demands of a more grasping oppressor, on the papal throne, who would dominate all realms, both spiritual and temporal?

The period of Church history from the death of Boniface VIII. to the beginning of the public career of Luther has ever presented to the honest Catholic historian most serious embarrass-

ments and well-nigh insuperable difficulties. This is a period when *all* who profess the Christian faith feel amazement and shame at the terrible unfaithfulness of clergy and laity alike. But for the Catholic, loaded down with the dogmas of the primacy of the Pope, and of his infallibility in matters of faith and morals when speaking *ex cathedra* for the universal Church, the reconciliation of the glaring contradictions of this portion of history, on the part of the Popes and councils, to these accepted dogmas, becomes a well-nigh hopeless task. With all his ability and ingenuity, Alzog staggers under the tremendous burden. Catholics ought not to take offense if the most intelligent Protestant students of this period of ecclesiastical history never cease to wonder at the faith (not to call it credulity) which can firmly grasp the papal primacy and the papal infallibility during these two hundred years of strife and wickedness. All are familiar with the arguments by which it is sought to defend these dogmas. But when councils opposed them; when the greatest and best theologians and canon lawyers stoutly argued against them; when the fearfully criminal character of many of the occupants of the chair of St. Peter was, *prima facie*, a standing contradiction of this assumption; when the clergy continued to sink lower and lower in immorality, and the sheep of the flock were devoured by ravenous wolves clothed in the shepherd's garb—and all this, too, without rebuke from the vicar of that Christ who said, "My kingdom is not of this world;" when bloated bestiality, wicked cunning, low deceit, repulsive adultery, and cruel homicide marked the career of so many of these Popes—we marvel at the ingenuity that can attempt to trace, and wonder at the faith that pretends to believe in, the pure stream of the primacy and of infallibility through all the abominable filth of this moral *cloaca*. It is this divorce of religion and morals, and this repeated contradiction of the Saviour's crucial principle—"Men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles"—which so stagger the faith of the average inquirer after truth, and compel him to reject claims and doctrines which need to be supported by arguments whose fallaciousness readily appears in other departments of inquiry. Calmness and high courtesy are demanded of the reviewer of a work on so high and noble a theme as Church history. The general justice of this claim is recognized. In many, very many, respects Alzog is justly severe

on the recreancy and unfaithfulness of the Church in its head and members. In this he has been more fearless and honest than most Catholic historians. He often makes careful discriminations, and faithfully places the culpableness where it justly belongs. Nevertheless there is a too manifest attempt to conceal and apologize; and it is difficult to suppress indignation at the treatment which some of the worst men receive at his hands. Take, for example, his closing notice of the career of Innocent VIII.: "This Pope, however, deserves considerable credit for his energetic efforts to suppress sorcery and witchcraft and the remnants of the heresy of John Huss;" and this statement of the pontificate of the impious Alexander VI.: "It is certainly a little remarkable that Alexander, while making so flagrant a misuse of his pontifical power, never lost sight of the essential duties of the Head of the Church, and never compromised either faith or morals in any of the numerous official documents issued by him." "*Never lost sight of the essential duties of the Head of the Church!*" What is the man of average intellect and average moral sense to think of such expressions as these? There are intuitions of right which no ecclesiastical system, however stupendous and hoary with age, can possibly eradicate. The average heathen mind, in countries not absolutely barbaric, would rise in stubborn protest against a system which needs such statements as these to prop up and defend some of its favorite dogmas.* Not a commandment of the Decalogue that this Pope did not repeatedly infract; not a beatitude of the humble Nazarene that he did not habitually and openly con-

* The severe arraignment of the Catholic Church in Italy and Spain by Sismondi, some sixty years ago, will here be recalled: "The same religious prejudice exists in Italy; an assassin is always sure of protection, under the name of Christian charity, from all belonging to the Church, and by that class of people immediately under the influence of the priests. Thus, in no country of the world have assassinations been more frequent than in Italy and Spain. In the latter country a village *fête* scarcely ever occurs without a person getting killed. . . . But neither the Spaniards nor the Italians ever consult their reason in legislating on morals; they submit blindly to the decisions of casuists, and when they have undergone the expiations imposed on them by their confessors they believe themselves absolved from all crime. These expiations have been rendered so much the more easy, as they are a source of riches to the clergy. A foundation of masses for the soul of the deceased, or alms to the Church, or a sacrifice of money, in short, however disproportionate to the wealth of the culprit, will always suffice to wash away the stain of blood. The Greeks in the heroic age required expiations before a murderer was permitted again to enter into their temple; but their expiations, far from enfeebling the civil

temn. When the marvelous prayer of the departing Lord—"They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world; sanctify them through thy truth: thy word is truth"—and the high and holy character which should pertain to the officers of the Church of God, as so powerfully drawn by St. Paul in the pastoral epistles, are placed in contrast with the scandalous lives of these Popes, and with these extenuations and apologies of professedly one of the most scientific and conscientious historians of the Catholic Church, the moral sense experiences a most terrible shock, and the suspicion is awakened that Alzog is writing in fear of the *Index Expurgatorius*.

We have before remarked that, in a Church history written from a Catholic stand-point, no sympathy with, or defense of, movements in opposition to the peculiar tenets and genius of the Romish Church may be looked for. Such expectation would be most unwise. Yet we may demand of any writer of respectability such statement of facts as will give to the reader of average intelligence a just resultant impression of the period under examination. We are reluctantly compelled to believe that, in his treatment of the "Reformers before the Reformation," Alzog has failed to satisfy this reasonable demand. The feeling awakened in the mind of one who should read the history, for the first time, from the pages of this writer, is, that Wiclif, Huss, Jerome of Prague, John of Wesel, John von Goch, Savonarola, and the whole line of heroic men who uttered their stout protest against the fearful corruption and wickedness which were consuming away the Church in both head and members, were only wretched vipers, which it was the duty of all men to crush out with the heel of power, or consume in the fires of the *auto-da-fé*. In a Catholic history we are prepared to find opposition to these men; indeed, we expect their hearty condemnation; but we confess to utter astonishment at the stony heartlessness of Alzog as he treats this period of history. His spirit is that of a gloomy inquisitor, with not a touch of sympathy or a tear of regret at what he believes to be the errors

authority, were designed to strengthen it; they were long and severe; the murderer was compelled to make public penance, and felt himself stained by the blood he had shed. Thus, among a fierce and half-savage people, the authority of religion, in accordance with humanity, checked the effusion of blood, and rendered an instance of assassination more rare in all Greece than in a single village in Spain."—*Literature of the South of Europe*, chap. xxxi.

of these men; but he is willing to give one more twist to the thumb-screw, and one more turn to the rack, to compel recantation. He utterly forsakes the high domain of the historian, to play the part of the most wretched partisanship. Look at this picture, painted by a powerful, yet truthful, artist:

We betake ourselves in spirit to the fifteenth century. It is difficult to describe how sad the Church's condition then seemed. The Lord's vineyard was a desert; thorns and thistles covered it, in place of vines. The priesthood was grown worldly and even dissolute. The Popes, overstepping all limits in their assumptions, led lives scandalous and horrible beyond measure. The monkish orders were following them in the way of ruin. Simony, extortion of every kind, and concubinage, were the order of the day. Church assemblies seemed only held for the bacchanalian orgies that went with them. During the Council of Constance there were no less than fifty thousand strangers in the town, and a great swarm of abandoned women among them. At this time the Church saw at her head three pretended vicegerents of Christ instead of one, alternately excommunicating and cursing each the others. The poor people, designedly chained down by basest superstitions, fainted as sheep without a shepherd. Was it a wonder, when a part of them, casting aside all restraints of chastity and morality, followed in the footsteps of their corrupt leaders, and gave themselves up to every vice, if the other and nobler portion, in sore need of the bread and water of life, gave vent to loud and still louder demands for the Church's reformation, in head and in members?—F. W. KRUMMACHER.

All of this, and no word of extenuation from Alzog of the conduct of these branded heretics! We repeat that impartial readers of this portion of our author's work must pronounce him lacking in the highest qualities of the historian, and his work well calculated to foster in members of his own communion a spirit of bigotry and uncharitableness. In these crucial examples he plainly violates the principles which he had already laid down to guide the historian. (See vol. i, p. 14.)

In further confirmation of this opinion we notice the author's treatment of the Inquisition. Doubtless, satisfactory reasons for the establishment of this court can be found in the spirit of the times. In an age when the doctrine of religious toleration had found no defenders, it is easy to understand how heresy, which was judged to be the most heinous crime, would be suppressed by the strong arm of the civil and ecclesiastical power alike. But it is totally unworthy a writer of the nine-

teenth century to be studying up *apologies* for the institution and horrible cruelties of this fearful court. For example, what are we to think of the following: "It is doubtful if *in our own day* sectaries as dangerous and malignant as the Albigenses and Cathari would be treated more leniently; and if so, why should we marvel at their treatment in the Middle Ages, *so eminently religious* in character?" etc.—Vol. ii, p. 982. Is Rome, through one of her chief councilors, here affirming anew the doctrine of *semper eadem* respecting intolerance, and the physical punishments by which, when power returns, she is ready to subdue dissent and heresy? But, as though Alzog were a little ashamed of his efforts to excuse the Inquisition, he utters a feeble condemnation of its abuse in Spain, and then turns round to apologize for his apology by trying to prove greater cruelties on the part of the Protestants! The usual puerile fallacy of supposing any lesser villainy to be a virtue, or that because arson is not homicide, it is, therefore, not a crime! While we reluctantly believe with the able historian of Rationalism, (Lecky, "History of Rationalism," vol. ii, pp. 40, 46,) that "the Church of Rome has inflicted a greater amount of unmerited suffering than any other religion which has ever existed among mankind;" and also that "nothing can be more grossly disingenuous or untrue than to represent persecution as her peculiar trait;" and we may be compelled to conclude with another able historical writer, that the strange contradictions presented in the history of religious communities can be accounted for only on the supposition that the human mind must be naturally intolerant of opposition, (Smyth, "Lectures on Modern History," lect. xii,) we can feel nothing but antagonism toward a Church historian of our own day who more than intimates that erroneous opinions, so judged, may be exterminated by the infliction of torture. It is in view of these positions of a grave historian, whose work bears the *imprimatur* of the Pope, and the indorsement of the most learned archbishops of this country, that we are unwillingly compelled to ponder the late utterances of a leading English historian in an influential American journal:

> Give them (the Catholics) the power, and the Constitution will be gone. A Catholic majority, under spiritual direction, will forbid liberty of worship, and will try to forbid liberty of con-

science. It will control education; it will put the press under surveillance; it will punish opposition with excommunication, and excommunication will be attended with civil disabilities. That it will try to do all this, as long as it accepts the ultramontane theory which at present passes current, is as certain as mathematics. It tried before in the Dark Ages; it will try again in the age of enlightenment.—J. A. FROUDE, in the "North American," November, 1879.

That these opinions are correct cannot be for a moment doubted by those who accept the maxim of *semper eadem*, and that this is still adhered to, the recent utterances *ex cathedra* from Rome give little room to doubt, notwithstanding the assertions of Romanists that Protestants are not in a position to understand Catholic doctrines.

The limits of this article will not permit an examination of Alzog's treatment of the great protest of the sixteenth century; we must dismiss this most prolific subject with but a single remark. While somewhat more moderate than many historians of his Church in the discussion of some of the dividing questions, he is most decidedly and thoroughly Catholic in his attitude toward the Reformation as a religious movement. He sees in Luther a very gifted and pious monk so long as he kept the peace, but an arch-apostate when he begins to question the purity and authority of the Church. Luther's expressions of pacific intentions, etc., "are the first act in a long drama of hypocritical professions;" in his letter to the Pope of March 2, 1519, "he was playing the contemptible hypocrite," etc.; he "had recourse to his usual dexterity and cunning;" he "had given much offense by his bibulous habits and his unseemly familiarity with females;" "he continued to exert, through his letters and other writings, the baleful influence which his presence had inspired;" in his connection with Henry VIII. "he showed himself the most vile of hypocrites;" "Luther was both a glutton and a drunkard." He closes by quoting approvingly the estimate of the Jesuit Pallavicini. But we tire of these pretensions to history. Why is it that Alzog, and even the abler and more profound Döllinger, lose sight of the fundamental meaning of history—"inquiry," "research"—while they are treating so grave and solemn an event as the Reformation? Why do they consent to betake themselves to vituperation, or to a skillful and ingenious array

of the weaknesses of great actors, and not to bring their best powers to the discovery of the causes of an event so tremendous in its consequences to Rome herself? Who does not know that to attribute so wonderful a revolution in doctrine and life to any merely hypocritical perversity involves a psychical absurdity which is not tolerable in the veriest historical tyro? Of all the cheap ways of writing history this is the very cheapest. While Döllinger has been much more just than Alzog in the estimate of Luther's character and work, both are alike inclined to give to the Reformation little credit for high and saving results.

It has passed into an adage that no man is wholly good or wholly bad. This truth must be ever-present with the historian and the biographer as they attempt their high and holy work. Every man, too, must be himself, and can be nobody else. To measure one man by his fellow is an almost impossible task. Plutarch may charm by his ingenious parallels, but there is ever lurking in this style of biography a demon of injustice which the fair-minded and honorable will seek to exorcise. We may, indeed, demand of the great leader and reformer deep and settled convictions, the use of honorable means, and a fair promise of success; these conditions being fulfilled, we are to judge their work by carefully and conscientiously determining the grand resultant of their labors, as this resultant has been revealed in the onflowing decades or centuries. To sketch a character from its defects is, therefore, grossly unjust, not to say detestably wicked. The purest and the best of earth would go down under such an onslaught. Herein we discover a serious defect of Alzog. He seems to be almost totally oblivious of the fact that enthusiastic minds and many great reformers have been subject to great fluctuations of feeling, and the victims of almost overwhelming spiritual depression. The agonizing prayer of Israel's great lawgiver, "Blot me, I pray thee, out of the book which thou hast written;" and his fatal haste in twice smiting the rock; the despairing cry of Elijah, "It is enough; now, O Jehovah, take away my life, for I am not better than my fathers;" Paul's pathetic words, "For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen, according to the flesh"—these are familiar examples of the weakness and of the soul-agony

which even inspired men have at times experienced. And the history of the Church furnishes numerous similar instances of a well-nigh despairing wail extorted from grandly heroic souls in the days of their keen disappointment and reverse. Yet how wickedly unjust to judge the great Hebrew leader from any such momentary spiritual obscuration, or to make this the key to unlock the deep problems of his life of moral sublimity! Not more defensible is the course of Alzog relative to Luther, or that of Döllinger when he discusses the nature and effects of the Reformation. The Reformation involved many hard and before unsolved problems. The struggles were often fierce and passionate. The motives were often flecked with selfishness and obstinacy. The determining element in many a conflict was unchristlike. The agents and chief actors in this great politico-religious drama were very fallible men; they had many and serious defects of character, and were subject to all the infirmities of their race and age. The results have been such as must ever come from the acceptance of a condition of human freedom relative to the profound problems of doctrine, life, and destiny. But when the grand resultant of this great protest against Rome is determined, Protestants feel an honest pride, and give devout thanks to the great Head of the Church that such Coryphaei for right as Luther, Calvin, Melanchthon, Zwingle, and their coadjutors, should bring in a better and brighter day for humanity.

The limits of this article having been reached, we shall leave to others to point out more specifically the excellencies and errors of this Church history when it treats of the post-Reformation period. We have only time to say that much of this history is exceptionally excellent, many passages are truly eloquent, and the range of authorities quoted is generally wide and ample. We regret that many parts are weakened by erroneous statement, and sometimes marred by the indulgence of a spirit of bigotry and religious partisanship which is entirely unbecoming the dignity of a theme so noble as that of the history of the Church of Christ. These errors and this partisan zeal are especially manifest in Alzog's account of the Huguenots in France, of the French Revolution, and in what seems to be the translator's account of the Jesuit missionary labors in North America, and of the pontificate of Pius IX.

We rejoice that so good a Church history has been made accessible to the many students of Catholic schools and colleges of America; for it is an almost infinite gain over all their former manuals. We regret, however, that this history is marred by so many errors, and is at times so unjustly partisan; for the profound pity is, the unlearned will readily accept these most crude and unworthy statements as genuine history, and to the more bigoted of every communion denunciation is more effective than scholarly examination.

Art. VI.—HARPERS' LATIN DICTIONARY.

Harpers' Latin Dictionary. A New Latin Dictionary, founded on the Translation of Freund's Latin-German Lexicon. Edited by E. A. Andrews, LL.D. Revised, enlarged, and in great part rewritten, by Charlton T. Lewis, Ph.D., and Charles Short, LL.D., Professor of Latin in Columbia College, New York. New York: Harper & Brothers. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1879.

The Roman youth who was put to the study of his native language had to depend on the oral instructions of his teachers, both for a knowledge of the grammatical principles which governed its structure, and for the vocabulary of its words, and their meanings and proper use; or, if sufficiently advanced, he might also consult the writings of standard Latin authors, provided he were so fortunate as to possess a copy of their works in manuscript; for "the art preservative of all arts" was not then at hand to lend him its kindly assistance by supplying copies of the best literary productions of his country, or to facilitate his labor by the timely offering of a printed grammar and dictionary of his mother tongue. If the great Roman orator and philosopher whose writings form the accepted models and tests of purest Latinity could have had laid before him so full a vocabulary of the words of his own language, illustrated by so varied, numerous, and pertinent examples, and enriched by the results of such far-reaching and scholarly investigations into its origin, its history, its etymological and grammatical relations to other members of the family of cognate tongues, as are to be found in the publication standing at the head of this article, we may well imagine his astonishment and delight. In the fervor of a quickened pride and faith in the capabilities of that form of

human speech through which he himself had displayed the almost matchless force of the magic spell of oratory, had constrained applause and approval from an unfriendly populace, or bent the wills of haughty senators to his own, he only the more earnestly would have urged "that the Latin language is not only not deficient, so as to deserve to be generally disparaged, but that it is even more copious than the Greek. For when have either we ourselves, or when has any good orator or noble poet, at least after there was any one for him to imitate, found himself at a loss for any richness or ornament of diction with which to set off his sentiments?" (Cic., *De Finibus*, 1, 3, 10; pp. 99–100 of Yonge's translation, Bohn, London, 1853.) We may fancy, moreover, that his exultation would have somewhat sobered down when a careful examination of the more than two thousand compactly filled pages of the volume before him disclosed no Latin name for the kind and character of book which he was examining. He would have been reminded of the fact that his Latin tongue, with all its vaunted copiousness, possessed no term to express the idea, so familiar to our minds, of a dictionary, because, in fact, strictly speaking, no such composition was then to be found in the range of Latin literature. The thing itself and the name were alike unknown. The word *glossæ*, borrowed from the Greek, and used to designate collections of obsolete or foreign words, with explanations thereof, is, indeed, found in the work of the learned M. Terentius Varro, entitled, *De Lingua Latina;* but nowhere do we find, in Latin authors preceding or contemporaneous with Cicero, a word which designated a compilation of the current words of the language, arranged in alphabetical or some other convenient order, with explanations of their forms, meanings, and applications, and fulfilling with respect to the language the office that an encyclopedia does to art, science, and literature. (See Amer. Cyclop., *s. v.* "Dictionary.") It was not until about thirteen hundred years after the age of Cicero, and at a period when the dominant influence of ecclesiastical literature and modes of thought had relegated his writings and those of his classic compeers to comparative obscurity, that an English grammarian and poet coined the word *dictionarius*, which has been naturalized in several modern languages, and in English has become a standard term to designate systematically arranged,

general or limited, compilations of the words of the language, or of terms belonging to some special branch of knowledge, with explanations of their meanings and uses. John Garland, (Latinized Joannes de Garlandia,) who flourished in the thirteenth century A. D., was the author of some poems of a religious nature, and of several works on subjects connected with language, among which was a composition entitled *dictionarius sive de dictionibus obscuris*, which was published by Géraud in his *Paris sous Philippe le Bel*, (Paris, 1837,) forming a part of the *Documens Inédits sur l'histoire de France*. The work is of the sort called a classed vocabulary, and is a curious production, containing a medley of notions, often incomplete, but interesting, on a variety of subjects, and is especially deserving of notice here as furnishing the first known example of the use of the word *dictionarius*. Referring to the title adopted by him, the author says, "This little book is called a dictionary from the more necessary *dictions* which every scholar should keep, not merely in a book-case made of wood, but firmly held in the casket of his memory." * The work of Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, before mentioned, has come down to our times in a very incomplete condition. Of the original twenty-four books only six (from the fifth to the tenth inclusive) are extant, and these are "disfigured by numerous blanks, corruptions, and interpolations." The best edition is that of Müller, Leipsic. 1833, 8vo., (reproduced by Egger, Paris, 1837.) Though not a dictionary of the language, it is strictly philological in character, and has been of great value to Latin lexicography by means of the information it supplies respecting the origin and uses of words, (many of which would otherwise have perished or become unintelligible,) and the light thrown by it upon points of grammar and etymology, notwithstanding the many absurd and incorrect views expressed. The study of the Greek language was, at this period, deemed an important part of the curriculum to be pursued by those who aspired to the distinction of being ranked among the well educated, and the spirit of Greek literature and philosophy permeated all forms of intellectual life and activity at Rome. It was, conse-

* Dictionarius dicitur libellus iste a dictionibus magis necessariis, quas tenetur quilibet scolaris, non tantum in scrinio de liguis facto, sed in cordis armariolo firmitur retinere.

quently, much the fashion then to have recourse exclusively to the Greek for the solution of difficult and doubtful questions regarding the Latin. Varro, however, did not follow this vicious custom, but adopted the sound principle "of connecting Latin words, as far as possible, with the ancient dialects of Italy," and thus pointed out the way to most important results, had it been followed up rightly.

Following the order of time, the next name in the history of Latin lexicography that claims notice is Verrius Flaccus, a grammarian and archæologist, who lived about the beginning of the Christian era. Though belonging to the class of manumitted slaves, he became so eminent for learning and skill in teaching as to secure the favor of the emperor Augustus, who intrusted to him the education of his grandsons, Caius and Lucius Cæsar. Besides many other works of value, he composed an elaborate and voluminous one, entitled, *De Significatu Verborum*, which, from its scope and method, and partially alphabetical arrangement of the articles, may be regarded as an imperfect prototype of the Latin dictionary of to-day. This work, together with Varro's, constituted the weightiest authority then known in regard to the sources and history of the Latin language, and was often quoted by the writers of the first ages of the empire and by subsequent grammarians. With the exception of short fragments, the original work of Flaccus has entirely perished, but it was made the basis of a similar, though less extensive, compilation by Sextius Pompeius Festus, a grammarian or lexicographer, whose date is uncertainly fixed somewhere in the third or fourth century, A. D. Of this work of Festus only one MS. has been preserved to our times, and that in a very unsatisfactory and incomplete condition. The curious and interesting story of the misfortunes which befell the MS. copies of Festus well illustrates the perils to which the written records of ancient learning were exposed before the agency of printing was invoked to rescue such monuments of the labors and genius of past ages from further despoilment, and endow them with a perpetuity of life more enduring even than fire-born brass or sculptured marble can assure. Festus abridged and condensed into much less space the voluminous work of Flaccus. He omitted the obsolete words, (*intermortua et sepulta verba,*) made some other changes, and

added criticisms of his own and extracts from the other works of Flaccus, the whole embraced in twenty books, with the title, *De significatione Verborum.* This *rifacimento* of the work of Flaccus furnishes, as I have before said, an imperfect prototype of the modern Latin dictionary. The arrangement is alphabetical to the extent of placing together words beginning with the same letter but grouped in a double series. In the first series the grouping is not merely according to the first letter, but also to the second, third, and even fourth; but the groupings are irregular; for example, the letter R series begins not with Ra but Ru; then follow groups in Ro, Rum, Rh, Re, and Ri mixed; then Ra, and, again, Re and Ri mixed. In the second series regard is paid simply to the initial letter, though with a certain ground of connection; thus under P we find groups of words, as, *Palatualis, Portenta, Postularia, Pestifera, Peremptalia, Pullus*—all relating to sacred rites; then *Proprius sobrino, Possessio, Prafecturæ, Parret, Postum, Patrocinia, Posticam lineam*—relating to civil law; and *Pomptina, Papiria, Pupinnia, Pupillia*—names of tribes, and so on with other groups.

This abridgment by Festus was itself abridged in the eighth century by Paul, the son of Warnefried, better known as Paulus Diaconus, according to the commonly received, but not undoubted, tradition. Whoever, whether Paulus or some unknown person, was the author of this last abridgment, the work was very poorly executed, and the *epitome* of Paulus is to be valued, not by virtue of intrinsic and independent merit, but because it has preserved something of the great work of Flaccus and Festus, which would otherwise have perished utterly. The early printed editions, up to the close of the fifteenth century, contained only the work of Paulus. In 1510 there was published at Milan a volume containing Nonius Marcellus, Festus, Paulus, and Varro, wherein the remains of Festus were incorporated with Paulus, and thus gave rise to the confused blending of the two authors, which prevailed until Antonius Augus, in his edition, (Venice, 1559–60,) gave both a correct collation of the Farnese MS., and a separation of the original work of Festus from that of Paulus. Lindemann, in the second volume of his valuable *Corpus Grammaticorum Latinorum*, (Leipsic, 1831–40,) gives a good edition, embracing a

complete separation of the work of Festus and Paulus, a careful revision of the text, and a large number of notes. The best edition by far is that of K. O. Müller, (Leipsic, 1839, 4to.,) which contains the best results of careful and critical investigations into the history, plan, and text of the several elements which make up the work now given under the name of Festus.

A survey of the field of European literature, if such can be said to have then existed, for a long period after the age of Festus, presents but few examples of efforts made in the direction of lexicography. The overthrow of the Western Roman Empire installed, it is true, a new and a more active race of political masters throughout its domains, but their activities were exhausted in the destructive work of war and rapine—in destroying the monuments of the past, not in perpetuating them. What little of ancient learning there was left found its refuge in the bosom of the Christian Church, which, like Noah's ark, was destined to pass in safety over the turbulent waters that engulfed most of the structures based on classic institutions and knowledge. The Latin language was preserved and held in honor by the clergy and monks. The ritual of the Church and the standards of faith, as contained in the writings of the Fathers of the West, were enshrined in the language of the former masters of the Roman world. But while it escaped destruction in the prevailing deluge, it gives proof of defilement by the surging waves in the sediment of numerous barbarisms in words and grammar which disfigure the degenerate Latinity of the Middle Ages.

The influence of the Church was strongly exerted in favor of the writings of the ecclesiastical fathers as standards both for style and sentiment, and tended constantly to set aside the classic authors. We need not, therefore, be surprised to find in the few lexicographical works originating in this period that greater weight is given to Ambrose and Jerome than to Cicero and Virgil as models to be followed.

Papias, an Italian grammarian who lived in the eleventh century, compiled for the use of his children, from the glossaries of the sixth and seventh centuries, an *Elementarium* or *Lexicon*, which, though very imperfect and full of errors and barbarous Latinisms, is yet very curious, and not without a certain value for the information it gives as to manuscripts. The

first edition was published at Milan, in 1476, folio, under the title, *Papiae Vocabularium*, etc. A more important work in the history of Latin lexicography is the celebrated *Catholicon*, compiled about A. D. 1286, by Giovanni Balbi, (otherwise known as de Janua or Januensis,) a monk of the order of the Preaching Brothers. The Catholicon is a sort of encyclopedia, and treats of various matters, and contains a copious Latin grammar and dictionary, with abundant quotations from Latin writers. Hallam (*Lit. of Eur.*) claims higher credit for this work than was generally accorded to it, and thinks that the grammar not only shows "familiarity with the terminology of the old grammarians," but indicates "that a certain attention was beginning to be paid to correctness in writing." As is the case in Papias "little distinction was made between the different gradations of Latinity." How fully Balbi shared the ecclesiastical spirit of his age is shown by his language at the conclusion of the work, where he tells us that with much labor and diligent study he had compiled this book to the glory of God and the glorious Virgin Mary, etc. Its great bulk must, at that time, have greatly restricted its circulation, and it is now chiefly notable for having been one of the works first selected for publication by the founders of the typographic art. The first edition, printed at Mayence in 1460, in folio, by Faust and Schaeffer, is extremely rare and commands a very high price. The *Comprehensorium* (whose author is only given as Joannes) published at Valentia, in 1475, folio, and the *Onomasticon* of Nestor Dionysius, published at Milan, in 1483, in folio, are classed among Latin dictionaries belonging to this early period. The Latin dictionaries thus far compiled, as well as some subsequent ones, give explanations in Latin only. About A. D. 1440, Galfridus Grammaticus, an English Dominican monk, compiled the work known as the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, which was printed by Pynson, in 1499, and was the first *printed* vocabulary wherein we find inserted words from a modern vernacular tongue, answering to the Latin ones, the English words in this being followed by their supposed Latin equivalents. Eight editions were published from 1508–28, and recently, under the auspices of the Camden Society, an edition by Albert Way has been brought out in three volumes, 4to., 1835–65. To the same author probably belongs

the *Medulla Grammaticis*, written in 1483 and printed as the *Ortus Vocabulorum* by Wynkyn de Worde, in 1500. Thirteen editions from 1509–23.

Nicolo Perotti, Archbishop of Siponto, was the author of the *Cornucopiae*, which consists of a very prolix commentary on certain portions of the poet, Martial, followed by an alphabetical index. It is not a dictionary proper, but a treasury of erudite, undigested materials, from which Calepino and other lexicographers have drawn largely. By setting the example of quoting passages from the classics to support the explanations given, it led the way to great advance in exegesis. The date of compilation is not known, but the first edition was published at Venice in 1489, folio.

The invention of printing and the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, with the consequent dispersion of learned Greeks throughout Western Europe, were events nearly contemporaneous, and alike exerted a powerful influence in giving new impulse to the literary spirit then awakening from the torpor of the Middle Ages. It was at this period that Ambrogio Calepino, an Italian monk of the order of the Augustines, began the preparation of the Latin dictionary to which he devoted the labor of his life until blindness supervened, and which, despite many defects and manifest inferiority to others that followed, was superior to any preceding one, and met for the time, inadequately it may be, the enlarging demands of the new order of things. It was used by scholars every-where during the sixteenth century, and the numerous editions testify to the earnestness of the popular appreciation, if not to its real merits. Calepino has been charged with using too freely materials gathered by the labors of others, especially Valla and Perotti, but no discredit, but rather praise, should attach to the lexicographer who carefully searches for and skillfully appropriates whatever he finds adapted to his purpose, provided due acknowledgment be made. For in this way only can we hope to approximate step by step to the highest grade of a dictionary. He was, like his predecessors, deeply imbued with the Church sentiment, and earnestly defended the Latinity of the fathers against the criticisms of the Ciceronians.* His *Dic-*

* Plus apud me Ambrosii, Hieronymi, vel Augustini gravitas et doctrina valet et Graecorum quam L. Vallae studiosa reprehensio.

tionarium, first published at Reggio, (1502,) was enlarged in succeeding editions, by adding to the original explanations corresponding ones in other tongues, until in the Lyons' edition of 1586 it appeared as a polyglot in ten languages, and in that of Basle, 1590–1627, in one of eleven. Facciolati reduced the number to seven, revised, improved, and published it at Padua, in 1718, two volumes, folio. Of this revision there have been many reprints, sometimes with new title-pages. Hallam says of this work, "It is still, if not the best, the most complete polyglot lexicon of the European languages."

The historical sketch of the principal Latin dictionaries produced in the sixteenth century begins with one whose appearance dates an epoch in the history of Latin lexicography, and gave new impulse to the zeal for the study of the ancient classic writings which marks so strikingly the literary activity of this century. The elder Robert Stephens (Estienne or Etienne in French) belonged to the famous family of French printers, editors, and publishers, of whom Disraeli ("Cur. of Lit.,") thus writes: "There was not one of this large family without honorable recognition for labor and knowledge, and in their wives and daughters they found learned assistants. Chalmers says, 'They were at once the ornament and reproach of the age in which they lived. They were all men of great learning, all extensive benefactors to literature, and all persecuted or unfortunate.'" Himself a man of great learning for the time, well versed in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, of practiced skill in the printer's art, possessed of good, sound sense and of untiring industry, and, withal, a Protestant, and therefore free from that undue deference to the Fathers as models of purity and style which detracts so from the value of Balbi and Calepino, Stephens was fitted to prepare (using the words of Collier's Morery) "the most compleat dictionary that ever had been seen till then of the Latin tongue." His *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (first edition, 1531–32; the last from his hands, 1543, three volumes, folio) was the product of great labor and research, and has been to after compilers an invaluable repertory of material. Its distinguishing features are an endeavor to foster purity of style by exhibiting the proper use of words as well in the anomalies of idioms as in the delicate variations of sense as found exemplified in the best writers;

a copious citation of examples, alphabetically arranged, but lacking exact reference to the authors, and definitions and explanations in French. While far in advance of previous ones, it cannot be called a scientific dictionary, and "would now be deemed far too defective for general use; yet it afforded the means for more purity in style than any could in that age have reached without unwearied exertion."—*Hallam.* The sentiment in favor of the classic standards of Latinity was further strengthened by the special dictionary to Cicero of Mario Nizzoli, (Latinized Nizolius,) whose original title of *Observationes in M. Tullium Ciceronem* (Brescia, 1535) did not indicate its true character, and was changed to *Thesaurus Ciceronianus* in the Aldine edition of 1570, and following ones, until in Facciolati's edition (Padua, 1734) it appeared as *Lexicon Ciceronianum*, which title is followed in the London edition of 1820, three volumes, 8vo. Notwithstanding faults severely criticised by Henry Stephens, this work has been regarded as an excellent one, and, in improved issues, maintained its popularity even into this century. John Fries, (Latinized Frisius,) a learned Swiss, with the aid of Stephens' Thesaurus, and the co-operation of Pierre Cholin, compiled a Latin-German dictionary, (published at Turin, 1541,) which was so favorably received that he was led to prepare and publish a new and enlarged one at Zurich, 1556, folio, of which numerous editions followed. The *Thesaurus eruditionis scholasticae* of Basil Faber, designed to aid composers in imitating classic authors, was a work of originality and extensive and exact learning which still make it worthy of attention, but was inadequate as a general dictionary. (First edition, Leipsic, 1571; the best, that by Leich, Frankfort, 1749, two volumes, folio.)

Several Latin dictionaries were published in England during this century, but none of any conspicuous merit or originality. That by Sir John Elyot, (1538, fol.,) mainly an adaptation of Calepino's, whom, however, he censures for having "rather appaired that which Perotti had studiously gathered," claims the distinction of being the first Latin-English dictionary published in England. Richard Huloet's *Abecedarium*, etc., (1552, fol.,) a Latin and English dictionary, was enlarged and corrected by John Higgins, (1572, fol.) Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Lincoln, who had previously edited Elyot's dictionary, published a *The-*

saurus Linguæ Romanæ et Brittannicæ, (1565, fol.,) of which Elyot's was the foundation, and the materials mostly drawn from Stephens and Frisius. It is a philological curiosity. John Baret, a Cambridge scholar, published under the quaint title of *Alvearie*, (Beehive.) a dictionary in English, Latin, and French, (1573, fol.,) which he enlarged by the addition of Greek, and republished (1580, fol.) as *Alvearie*, or, *Quadruple Dictionarie*. *A Dictionnaire Latinè et Anglicè*, by J. S. Veron or Vernon, (1575, 4to.,) was "corrected and enlarged for the utilitie and profit of all young students in the Latin tongue," by R. Waddington, etc., (1584, 4to.) We mention also *Thomasii* (*Thomæ*) *Dictionarium Linguae et Anglicanæ*, etc., (Cambridge, 1589, 8vo.,) and John Withals' *Shorte Dictionnarie for Yonge Beginners*, (1568, small 4to.,) "revised and increased with phrases and additions by L. Evans, with more than 600 rhythmical verses, proverbs, etc., by Abr. Fleming," (1599, 4to.)

The classical scholars of the seventeenth century devoted themselves more to general philology than to the task of compiling dictionaries. The names of Erasmus, the Scaligers, Martinius, and Vossius give importance to their opinions on grammar and etymology, though, judged in the light of the present day, many of their conclusions bear witness to the low state of philological science then. Their labors stimulated further inquiries, and paved the way to the progress since made in these respects. The *Lexicon Manuale Græco-Latinum* of Screvel (better known by his Latinized name of Schrevelius) is the only general dictionary compiled in this period which we need mention. First published in 1654, (one vol., 8vo.,) it went through numerous editions and adaptations, and was extensively used, notwithstanding its arbitrary selection of words, insufficient explanations, and absurd etymologies. Of special dictionaries, we mention the etymological ones by Holyoake, Martinius, Vossius, and Danet; that to Plautus by Pareus; the *Hierolexicon* of Magri, a dictionary of ecclesiastical Latin; and the *Thesaurus Epithetorum et Synonymorum*, afterward published as the *Gradus ad Parnassum*. But the most important and valuable work of this class originating in this century we shall notice more at length; namely, the "Glossary of Mediæval and Low Latinity," by du Cange. Charles du Fresne, Sieur du Cange, a French historian, antiquarian, and philologist, born in 1610,

was educated for the law, but his tastes led him to abandon that profession and devote himself to historic researches. In these pursuits, impressed with a sense of the importance of a knowledge of the rustic Latin and Greek used in the Middle Ages for a proper understanding of the mediæval history and of the modern languages of Europe, he conceived the idea of preserving these intermediary dialects, by collecting, in the form of a dictionary, the words of these degenerate forms of the classic tongues. He prosecuted this purpose with the industry and mental grasp befitting the conception, and, with unabating zeal, sought from printed books and curious, unused manuscripts the materials for the great works which constitute an imperishable monument to his fame, and entitle his memory to grateful recognition by all who are called to traverse the history of the times and of the languages illustrated by his labors. His dictionary of mediæval and low Latin, published (Paris, 1678, three vols., fol.) under the modest but appropriate title of *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis*, was enlarged by the Benedictine monks to six volumes, (1733–36,) and to these Carpenter added four supplementary ones, making the entire work, as enlarged and improved, consist of ten folio volumes. An abridgment made by Adelung was published (Halle, 1772–83, six vols., 8vo.) under the title of *Glossarium Manuale*, etc. A new edition (seven vols., fol.—the last containing a glossary of old French)—edited by Henschel, was issued in 1844 from the press of the Messrs. Didot, and embraces the results of the labors of the continuators of du Cange, with emendations and additions by the editor and others so important as to make it almost an encyclopædia of the Middle Ages.

The eighteenth century was more prolific in lexicography, but the general Latin dictionaries claiming notice here are only four. The first is by an English schoolmaster, whose name is doubtless familiar to many of my readers, since, in one or another of many editions and adaptations, his dictionary was still in general use far into the present century. The fact of so long-continued popularity implies, at least, the merit of meeting a popular want, whatever critics may say of its deficiencies. Robert Ainsworth gave twenty years to the preparation of a Latin dictionary to answer the requirements of schools and colleges, and yet suffice for the needs of maturer students of the

Latin authors. It was first published (1736, 4to.) under the title of *Thesaurus linguæ latinæ Compendiarius;* or, *A Compendious Dictionary of the Latin Language*, and many subsequent additions followed. Ainsworth was the first English lexicographer who supported his meanings by *exact* reference to authorities. While his work does not measure up to the standard of later ones, it was so superior to its predecessors for general uses that it superseded them, and was for a long time almost exclusively used where the English was the spoken tongue.

The *Novus linguæ et eruditionis Romanæ Thesaurus* of Gesner (1749, four vols., fol.) is based on that of Stephens, on which it shows but little advance. The attention paid to revision and improvement of definitions is but slight, and in etymology is limited to rejecting a few absurd ones.

The wayfarer, threading the paths of man's history in any of the lines of its varying activities, ever and anon reaches a structure which marks an epoch in the steps of progress. We have passed several such, and now come to another creation of toil-spent years, that tells anew the story that progress is not the result of spasmodic and erratic forces, but the fruit of labor intelligently and constantly directed to the attainment of an object—the reward of many headaches and many heartaches, of many nights of mental anguish, whose sole light was the glow of a faith that dies not, but cheers man onward until the end is reached. Jacopo Facciolati, a learned Italian and head of the famous seminary at Padua, where he had the direction of the instruction in Greek and Latin, in order to provide his pupils with better facilities for the study of the classic authors, prepared with great care the improved editions of Schrevelius, Nizolius, and Calepino, which are still regarded as among the best. In the prosecution of this object he was assisted by his pupil, Egidio Forcellini, who, perceiving, as Robert Stephens had perceived before him, that the great work of Calepino was by no means a complete thesaurus of the Latin language, suggested to Facciolati a new and a greater project than a mere revision of that work; namely, the compilation of a truly universal lexicon, of all ages, of that language, making the writers themselves the basis, and explaining each word and expression by exact citations from them, as had been done for the Italian

language in the *Vocabulario della Crusca.* Prepared for his new work by previous study of Calepino, and directed at first by his old master, the young Forcellini, in the latter part of the year 1718, set about the stupendous task of reading, pen in hand, all the Latin authors and their best interpreters, and all the collections of Latin inscriptions and medals. By reason of various hinderances the prosecution of his task was so interrupted that the dictionary was not completed until February, 1753. Almost two years were spent in revising, and the transcribing was not finished until November, 1761. Forty years had passed since he began his labor, a length of time vividly set forth in the touching words of his preface: "A youth, I put my hand to the work. I have become an old man, as you see, while I am finishing it." * He did not live to see its publication, for ten years more passed before this monument of devoted zeal was unveiled to the world. Facciolati contributed little beyond counsel and encouragement. He expressly assigned the authorship to Forcellini.† The honor for its inception and elaboration is due to the unambitious, unselfish man, whose sagacity, learning, and steady perseverance gave to the lovers of the classics this richest fruit of labor in Latin lexicography of all the centuries. The first edition of the *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon*, issued from the seminary press at Padua, (1771, 4 vols., fol.,) was followed by a second and much superior one from the same press in 1805. An excellent edition was published in England in 1828 in two large volumes, 4to., by J. Bailey, with translation of the Italian words into English, and the addition of a great deal of new and valuable matter. A third Italian edition, by Furlanetto, was reprinted in Germany with improvements, (1828–35.) A new Italian edition is now passing through the press. Its points of superiority over its predecessors are: (1) the amplitude of its collection of materials, in which respect it is unrivaled, and is the richest store-house of material for Latin lexicographers; (2) its careful discrimination of the various meanings of words and clear definitions and explanations of separate terms, phrases, and idioms. Its principal defects are unsound etymologies and illogical arrangement of significations. The Latin-German dictionary of

* Adolescens manum admovi, senex, dum perficerem, factus sum, ut videtis.

† Princeps hujus operis conditor atque adeo unus Forcellinus est.

E. J. G. Scheller (1783) was taken almost entirely, not excepting even the title, from Forcellini's work. Several useful dictionaries, devoted to special departments of Latin literature, added to the volume and value of materials for use in general Latin lexicography, but we have not space to enter into details concerning them.

The date of publication of the Latin dictionaries next to be noticed brings us into the present century. F. P. Leverett, principal of the school at Boston, Mass., compiled, chiefly from Forcellini, Scheller, and Lünemann, *A Lexicon of the Latin Language*, (1837,) which was for many years a standard work in the United States, until superseded by Andrews' "Freund." J. E. Riddle, who had previously translated Scheller's dictionary for the University of Oxford, essayed to remedy the defects of school editions of Ainsworth by his *Complete Latin English Dictionary*, founded on Lünemann's edition of Scheller's *Abridged Dictionary*, (1836,) and his *English Latin Dictionary*, (1838.)

When Forcellini was preparing his great work, European scholars hardly even knew of the existence of the Sanscrit language, and consequently its abundant stores of linguistic materials were not available to him as helpers in explaining the Latin. The establishment of British power and influence in India on a firm and expanding basis, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, laid the real foundation of the science of glossology, or comparative philology, by affording the opportunity and the facilities for the study of the sacred records of the Hindu people. The Sanscrit language, thus brought to the knowledge of Europe, was found not only to possess a rich literature, extending far back into the past, with a complete apparatus of grammars and dictionaries, but also to present unequivocal evidences of relationship to the languages of ancient Europe; in fact, that it was a sister tongue to the Greek and Latin. Another fact which has added to the impulse thus given to the comparative study of language should not be overlooked, namely, the activity in missionary efforts during the present century. The Christian missionaries, whose field of labor has constantly enlarged, were brought into contact with peoples speaking diverse tongues, and must needs master their speech in order to fulfill their mission. From time to

time they have published the results of their acquisitions in this field, and so the mass of material for the student of language was largely increased. The facts accumulated were eagerly and attentively studied and analyzed. The critical labors of Adelung, De Sacy, A. W. Schlegel, Bopp, Pott, Grimm, and others brought to light hitherto unsuspected elements of accord in grammar and vocabulary between the different members of the Aryan family of languages, as well as intimations of connecting bonds between the families of tongues themselves. In grammar, exegesis and etymology especially, great progress had been achieved, and the time had come when lexicography, too, should take another forward step, responsive to the advance in philological science. This step was taken for the Latin in William Freund's *Wörterbuch der Lateinischen Sprache*, (Dictionary of the Latin Language,) 1834–45, four volumes, 8vo., and his *Gesammt Wörterbuch der Lateinischen Sprache*, (Condensed Dictionary of the Latin Language,) 1845, two volumes, 8vo. In the larger work, Freund essays to "give the history of all those words which occur in the written remains of the Romans, from the earliest times to the fall of the West Roman empire," (when the Latin ceased to be a spoken national language,) with such explanations of their age, quality, grammatical forms and relations and etymology, and such discrimination in the meaning and shades of meaning of single words, phrases, and idioms, as will serve faithfully to define them as expressions of the current thought of the Roman people in all the periods of its history. This object was more fully attained than ever before, and the work took rank as having brought Latin lexicography to a "high degree of perfection." Its treatment of words according to their historical development marked a long step in advance, and it made great improvement in exegesis, (the most important part of a dictionary,) in etymology and analysis of words, and in logical methods of arrangement and notation in the articles treating the separate words. Objection has been made ("London Quarterly," Oct. 1855) that too much was attempted, that there is a tendency to verbosity and excessive refinement and hair-splitting; but the merits of Freund's work are so conspicuous that it has been made the basis for all the principal Latin dictionaries published since its appearance in this country and Great

Britain.* Of these we shall notice, 1. *A Copious and Critical Latin-English Lexicon*, by J. E. Riddle, (1849, 4to.,) founded chiefly on the "Condensed Dictionary" of Freund. It abounds in errors of reference, omits carelessly a group of words between feriæ and feritas, including the verb ferio, and adjective ferinus, both found in writers usually read in schools, and is, in most respects, far inferior to either of the two following ones. The large type, the inclusion of some mediæval Latin words, and an etymological index at the end, may commend it to certain persons and for certain objects. Before his death Mr. Riddle was, in conjunction with the Rev. J. T. White, engaged in the preparation of an enlarged and greatly improved edition, based on Andrews' translation of Freund. This was published in 1862. 2. *A Copious and Critical Latin-English Lexicon*," by E. A. Andrews, LL.D., (New York, 1850, 8vo.,) is based on a translation of the larger work of Freund, with some corrections, and an Appendix containing specimens of early Latin, and one containing lists of French and Italian words derived from the Latin, taken from Freund's smaller work. Occasional deficiencies found in Freund are supplied from Gesner, Facciolati, Scheller, and Georges. By means of judicious condensation, it aims to give, within the compass of a large 8vo. volume, all that is of prime importance in the four volumes of the original. This object was so faithfully held in view, and so successfully achieved, that Andrews' Freund was accepted as the best exponent in English of the original German work, and has been since its publication a standard book of reference both in this country and Great Britain. As the publishers of Harpers' Dictionary say, in their "advertisement," "It has had for competitors, indeed, in the schools and colleges of both countries, only works which are substantially reprints or abridgments of itself." It is sometimes defective in its renderings of the German, and not without faults in style and other defects. 3. William Smith, LL.D., the well-known editor and co-author of other valuable dictionaries, brought out

* The omission of Freund's work, the most important one originating in this century, from the list of German-Latin dictionaries, given in the new (ninth) edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," does not speak well for the carefulness or knowledge of the author of the article. No mention is made, either, of any Latin dictionary published in the United States.

(London, 1855, one volume, med. 8vo.) *A Latin-English Dictionary*, based on Forcellini and Freund, which has been highly praised. I may add that, in conjunction with T. D. Hall, and after fifteen years of preparation, he published (1870) *A Copious and Critical English-Latin Dictionary*, the best one issued from the English press. Harper & Brothers republished it (1871) in one volume, royal 8vo. Of those published in the United States for the use of schools I mention, 1. *A Latin-English and English-Latin Dictionary*, by C. Anthon, LL.D., the first part based on Riddle's Freund, (1849,) whose omission of the group of works mentioned is not even supplied, and the second part, mainly a reprint of Kaltschmidt's "English-Latin Dictionary," (New York, 1852, one volume, sm. 4to.;) and 2. *A Latin-English Lexicon*, by Messrs. Crooks and Schem, based on Ingerslev's "Schulwörterbuch," (Philadelphia, 1858, one vol., 8vo.)

About thirty years have elapsed since the publication of Andrews, in which time much further advance has been made in philological science. Investigations of the structure, the history and connections of languages, especially those of the Aryan family, have continued with unabated zeal and no less fruitful results. The same influences have been operating with the added power and acceleration which widely developed steam communications and the electric telegraph have given to the movements of the world. Andrews' Freund no longer represented for English and American students the latest results of critical research, and there was need for such revision and reconstruction as would measure up to the present attainments in Latin philology. Accordingly, the Messrs. Harper & Brothers, publishers of Andrews, determined to bring out such a work. Availing themselves of the aid of Dr. Freund himself, who has revised, corrected, and added largely to the work of Andrews, and of the careful supervision and critical elaboration of the editors, assisted by other eminent Latin scholars, they give to the public, in the volume now before us, the result of their efforts, *A New Latin Dictionary*, based, indeed, on Andrews' translation of Freund, but so revised, reconstructed, and enlarged as to correspond with the advanced status of philology. This work may be presumed to represent the matured judgment of Dr. Freund himself as regards the principles and methods which should govern in the

treatment of the several elements of a Latin dictionary intended for general use. In further notice of it we shall limit comparisons to Andrews' work, since that, at least in the United States, has hitherto been regarded as the best Latin dictionary in general use, and shall refer to the two works by the words Harpers and Andrews, or simply by the letters H. and A. We begin with the observations that H. presents a more attractive and legible page than A., devotes nearly one third more space to the dictionary proper, and, besides, contains an "Orthographical Index" of the principal Latin words, variously spelled in MSS. and editions, with an indication of the better orthography, generally following Brambach; a fuller list of ancient authors, with the abbreviations used in referring to them; and a "Catalogue" of editions of ancient authors, books of reference, etc., used in editing the work. From an examination of this last list we see that the editors of H. have enriched their labors from the most recent and highest culture in this branch of literature. We have therein the names of Corssen, Döderlein, Donaldson, Fick, G. F. Grotefend, Lübke, Mann, Mommsen, Neue, Smith, Vanicek, Wordsworth, and many others, including critical editors and Latin grammarians of highest repute. The appendices in A. are, we think, properly omitted, since, however useful and interesting their matter, they do not fall within the proper scope of a lexicon; but the omission in Harpers of even a brief editorial statement of the nature and extent of the work, and of the methods adopted in framing the separate articles, we think a deficiency to be supplied. For example, many who may use the work cannot be presumed to know the exact import of such terms as classical, ante- and post-classical, etc., occurring therein, or be able to supply the lack from Andrews or Freund. Coming to the separate articles, our attention is first called to those on the letters of the alphabet, and an examination of them in each work proves conclusively that H. is no mere copy of A., but that each article has been carefully revised, and most of them enlarged and changed so as to present new and better explanations of the origin and uses of the letters. That on A is in Andrews less than one column in extent, while in Harpers it fills nearly four, and gives a more copious and vastly better account of the various uses and combinations of the letter. In

that on B, H. corrects the statement of A., that aspello and asporto pass into appello and apporto; supplies the omission, that before f and p, or m and c, b is assimilated; and changes the expression "syllables of derivation" into "terminations used in forming words." That on C is somewhat longer in H., where mention is made of the interchange of ci and ti, not referred to in A.; but H. refers to a form accatia not found in the vocabulary. The article on D is rewritten and much improved in H., but the statement that d in Latin corresponds in *character* and sound to the English d and Greek Δ is correct only as to the English, if by *character* the form or shape of the letter is meant. On E, H. is longer and gives more accurately the changes and uses of the letter; *e. g.*, in division e (e), nouns from stems ending in e, b, p, t, n, etc., and division e, euphonic insertion of e in nouns and adjectives where stem ends in r, as sacer. Article F, rewritten and much changed, is brought up to present standards in H., where f's connection in sound with an original Indo-European bh, dh, or gh, is set forth. The article G in H. is longer, revised, and the connection of g with the Indo-European original stated. That on H is also revised in Harpers, and the fact of the weakening of the sound of h, and of the frequent dropping of a medial h, is stated. That on I is revised in H., and mention made of the insertion of an i in words from the Greek, as mina from *μνᾶ;* on J, also revised, and the origin of this letter from dj or di given in Harpers. The article on K is somewhat longer and more specific in H., and that on L in H. is twice as long, and gives a much completer statement of the history, etymological connections and uses of the letter. A. here refers to scholia omitted by him. The article on M is considerably longer in H., with a statement of the substitution of m for p or b before a nasal suffix, and of its general correspondence with m of all the Indo-European tongues. A. bunglingly attempts to tell us that Festus gives a form Melo for Nilus, Greek Νεῖλος, in the words, "A collat. form Melo of Nilus for Νεῖλος." That on N is revised and nearly twice as long in H.; but we are puzzled to understand how the form Cosul illustrates the dropping of n before j. The article on O is reviewed, but not much changed in H. That on P is revised and somewhat changed in H., where the expression in A., "so suited to the organ of the Latins,"

is changed for the better, but we think that amnis for apnis is better explained as a substitution of m for p before a nasal suffix, (see M.) Harpers refers the origin of Q to the Greek Koppa; makes but slight change in art. R; but on S is fuller, especially in the latter part of div. iv and first of v. Both A. and H. quote (div. iii) the passage from Cic. Or., 45, 153, as "*palmis et crinibus.*" Ernesti's reading, "*passis et crinibus,*" is better. The article on T is carefully revised and somewhat amplified in H., and correction made of the careless statement in A., that in pure Latin words initial t is "joined only with the liquid r," so as to read, "is followed by *no consonant* except r." The article on U is fuller in H.; and that on V adds the corresponding English sound, illustrations from kindred Sanscrit forms, and that v is sometimes elided after a mute. The article on X is revised in H., where we notice error of "vixit for visit," instead of "visit for vixit" in the illustrations of substitution of s or ss for x. The article on Z is rewritten and quite different in H., where it is held that z probably belonged to the original Latin alphabet, and was not borrowed from the Greek, as stated in A. In reading several pages under letter D in the two dictionaries, we find corrections constantly made by H. of errors in A; for example, in *Daphnis*, correction of the statement in A. that the acc. *daphnin* occurs only once; in *Dares*, clear statement of the imposture, apparently unknown to A.; in *Dareus*, "best editt. *in*," corrected to "best editt. *of*;" *datio*, 2 Transf., "right of abalienation," to "right of alienation:" abalienation is not good English; *daulius*, shown to be a false reading; *deambulo*, deambulatum quoted as from Cic. Leg., 1, 3, 14, false reading for ambulatum; (both A. and H. err in referring to chap. 3; it should be chap. 4;) *dearmo*, 2, meaning "*to take away or steal a weapon,*" corrected "*to deprive of power, blunt;*" *deascio*, meaning "*to rub,* or *work over with a trowel,*" corrected, "*to hew* or *cut with an ax, to smooth.*" So under *Penates*, A. says, "A singular, however, is inconceivable as applied to these deities which always appear in the plural," which may imply that these deities exist only in a sort of compound being. H. states the fact correctly in the words, "but the singular is never used." Again, under *Pretium*, A. gives the meaning "*worth, value, price,*" as the primary one, and that of "*money spent*" for any thing, as secondary. H.

transposes this order. Besides a sprinkling of uncorrected errors in reference to authors, we noted a more important one retained in H., viz., a statement that the pronoun *is, ea, id*, is sometimes used instead of a reflexive pronoun. The examples quoted do not warrant this statement, for the forms of *is* there employed refer not to the verb of their own clause, but of the preceding one. Sos occurs in Cic. Leg. ii, 9, 22 for eos, and in H. we are referred to IS *in init* for explanation, but find there no reference to such form. Under *bascauda* we found Wall for Welsh, and under Dea, the reference near close of Bona De a to bonus F. should be to A. 6. We refer to such minute details to show that we have not made up our judgment of the book without some examination of it.

A valuable feature in Harpers is the frequent indication of words of synonymous or opposite signification. In etymology it is far in advance of A., as a comparison of the articles, especially those on the numerals, in both abundantly shows. A comparison of the two may perhaps be better made by examining closely several leading articles in each, and for this purpose we select those on *Littera*, 2 *Jus* and *Lex*, as treating important words, and yet not so long as to deter the reader from going through the dry details which necessarily enter into such a comparison. We present an accurate skeleton of each as given in Andrews and in Harpers, (omitting the references,) with observations suggested to us by the comparative exhibit:

ANDREWS.

LITERA, (also written littera,) æ, f. [lino.] *A letter.* I. Lit. . . . literarum ordine, *in alphabetical order*, . . . digerere in literam, *to arrange alphabetically*, . . . nescire literas, *not to be able to read and write*, . . . facere literam and literas, *to write*, . . . In the language of comedy: homo trium literarum, *i. e.*, fur, *a thief*, . . . literam ex se longam facere, *i. e.*, I, *i. e., to hang one's self*, . . . litera salutaris and tristis, *i. e.*, A. (absolvo) and C (condemno) which were put on the voting tablets. . . *vide* the letters A and C. II. Transf. A. *A word, a line*, . . . So, ad literam, *word for word, literally*, . . . B. *A handwriting*, . . . C. Literae, ārum, *Plur., A letter, epistle;* literas resignare, *to unseal* or *open a letter*, . . . literae missae, *are letters sent* by a person; literae allatae, *letters received;* hence liber literarum missarum et allatarum, *a letter-book*, L. M. (*i. e.*, literae missae:) . . . L. A. (*i. e.*, literae allatae,) *etc.* In poets also sometimes in the *sing.* . . . D. *A writing, document, paper*, . . . E. *An account-book*,

. . . F. *An edict, ordinance,* . . . literas revocavit, *letter of appointment, commission,* . . . G. *Written monuments, literature;* abest historia literis nostris, *is wanting in our literature,* . . . Graecae de philosophia literae, *philosophical literature,* . . . artem literis sine interprete percipere, *merely from books,* . . . H. *History,* inasmuch as it is derived from written documents, . . . (* *An inscr. ov. m.* 11, 706.) I. *Literary Composition,* . . . K. *Learning, the sciences, liberal education, scholarship, letters,* . . . nescire literas, *to be without a liberal education,* . . . Altiores literae, *magic.*

HARPERS.

LITTERA, (less correctly lĭtĕra,) æ, *f.* [lino, q. v.,] *a letter, a written sign* or *mark signifying a sound.* I. Lit. . . . Litterarum ordine, *in alphabetical order* . . . digerere in litteram, *to arrange alphabetically,* . . . scire litteras, *to be able to read and write,* . . . nescire litteras, *not to be able to read and write,* . . . scientia litterarum, *the art of writing,* . . . facere litteram or litteras, *to write.* . . . In the language of comedy: homo trium litterarum, i. e., fur, *a thief,* . . . litteram ex se longam facere, i. e., *to make an I by hanging perpendicularly, to hang one's self,* . . . littera salutaris, i. e. A., (absolvo,) and tristis, i. e., C., (condemno,) which were put on the voting tablets.—II. Transf. A. *Sing.* 1. *A word, a line* . . . ad litteram, *word for word, literally.*—2. *A handwriting.*—B. Usually *plur.* 1. Litteræ, ārum, *f., a letter, epistle* . . . literas resignare, *to unseal* or *open a letter* . . . litteræ missæ, *a letter sent* by a person . . . litteræ allatæ, *a letter received:* hence, liber litterarum missarum et allatarum, *a letter-book:* L. M. (i. e., litteræ missæ) . . . L. A., (i. e. litteræ allatæ,) etc. In poets, also, sometimes in *sing.* . . . 2. *A writing, document, paper* . . . esp. *a written acknowledgment,* littera poscetur. . . . 3. *An account-book.* . . . 4. *An edict, ordinance.* . . . litteras revocavit, *letter of appointment, commission.* . . . 5. *Written monuments, records, literature* . . . abest historia literis nostris, *is wanting in our literature* . . . Græcæ de philosophĭa litteræ, *philosophical literature,* . . . nullam artem litteris sine interprete et sine aliqua exercitatione percepi posse, *merely from books.* . . . 6. *History* inasmuch as it is derived from written monuments. . . . 7. *Literary labor, composition.* . . . 8. *An inscription,* Ov., M., 11, 706. . . . 9. *Learning, the sciences, liberal education, scholarship, letters* . . . nescire litteras, *to be without a liberal education* . . . altiores litteræ, *magic* . . . Comically of the art of love. Litteras didicisti, quando scis, sine alios discere, *Plautus.*

We notice, *first*, that Harpers calls attention to the orthography, *littera*, as better than *litera*, followed in Andrews; secondly, that, in presenting the primary meaning of *littera*, Harpers adds the words, *a written sign* or *mark signifying a sound.* This addition removes all doubt as to the sense in which the word *letter* is here used; namely, that of a letter of the alpha-

bet, and not an epistle. This careful avoidance of ambiguity is also noticeable in the explanation in Harpers of the comic expression *litteram ex se longam facere*, and of *littera salutaris* and *littera tristis*, as compared with the same in Andrews. Harpers gives a much larger number of citations from, and references to, Latin authors to illustrate the meanings; for example, under I. Lit. there are ten additional ones, and, including Quintilian, Probus, Vitruvius, Gaius, and the Digest, not referred to by Andrews; and, under II. Transf., we find twenty-seven additional references, embracing Juvenal, Cæsar, Tibullus, and Livy, not referred to in Andrews.

We noticed the following errors—in Andrews: II. Transf. C., the quotation, *unis literis totius æstatis res gestas ad Senatum perscribere* is found in Cic. Fam., 2. 7, not 3. 7, as printed, and reference to Cic., Att., 12, 1, as illustrating use of litera with verb, exarare, is a mistake. The word in Cic. is not littera, but litterula, and the citation is properly made in II. under the latter word. K. erat in quotation from Cic., Brut., 76, is typographical error for erant. In Harpers, we have noted errors as follows: I. Lit., Sen. Ep., 68, 18, should be Sen. 68, 9; Vitruv. 1, 1, 14, should be 1, 1, 4; then follows apparently a reference to same author, *id.*, Clem. 2, 1, 2, which should be Sen. Clem. 2, 1, 2. as correctly printed in A. II. Transf. A. 1. Quint. 9, 1, 15, should be 9, 1, 25. B. 1, the reference to Tib. 3, 2, 27, should, I think, be put in 8, as illustrating sense *inscription;* 5, in quotation from Cic., Brut., 64, 228, illustratæ should be illustratum, (agreeing with genus and not scriptionis,) as we find it in A., Ernesti, etc.—9, Cic. de Or. 2, 7, 28, should be 2, 17, 72.

ANDREWS.

2. Jūs, jūris, *n* (*gen. plur.*, jurum for jurium, Cato in Charis. p. 109 P.) [from the same root with jubeo, jussi: prop. jussum] *Right, law, justice:* I. Lit. (quite class.) . . . obtinere, *to maintain* . . . dicere, *to pronounce judgment, give a judicial decision*, as, *e. g.*, the praetor: . . . jus petis, *you ask what is right, reasonable*, . . . jus publicum, *common rights*, . . . jura communia, *equal rights*, . . . gentium, *the law of nations*, . . . civile, *the civil law*, . . . *Abl.*, jure, adverbially, *with justice, justly*, . . . jure optimo, *with perfect justice*, . . . summum, *the extremity* or *utmost rigor of the law.* II. Transf.: A. *A place where justice is administered, a court of justice:* in jus ambula, *come before a magistrate.* . . . B. *Justice, justness of a thing.* . . . C. *Legal right, power, authority*, . . . patrium, *the power of life*

and death over their children, . . . (homo) sui juris, *his own master, inde-pendent*, . . . jus ad mulieres, *over the women*. . . . *The legal forms* of the old jurists : Jus Flavianum, Pomp. in Pand. 1, 2, 2, 7.

HARPERS.

2. Jūs, jūris, (*gen. plur.* jurum for jurium, Plaut. Ep. 3, 4, 86 ; Cato ap. Charis. p. 72 and 109 P. ; juribus, Dig. 13, 5, 3, § 1 ; Charis. p. 19 ; jure, arch. *dat.*, Liv. 42, 28, 6 : Corp. Ins. Lat. 198, 31,) *n.* [kindred with Sanscr. *yu*, to join : cf. ζεύγνυμι, jungo, q. v. the binding, obliging: cf. lex from ligo,] *right, law, justice.* I. Lit., (class.: in *plur.* very rare, except in *nom.* and *acc.*,) *that which is binding* or *obligatory*, that which is binding by its nature, *right, justice, duty*, . . . obtinere, *to maintain*, . . . de jure alicui re-spondere, *to lay down the law*, . . . dicere, *to pronounce judgment, give a judicial decision*, as, *e. g.*, the praetor, . . . jus petis, *you ask what is right, reasonable*, . . . jus publicum, *common right*, . . . jura communia, *equal rights*, . . . gentium, *the law of nations*, . . . civile, *the civil law*, . . . jus fasque est, *human and divine right* . . . *Abl.:* jūrē, adverb., *with justice, justly*, . . . jure optimo, *with perfect jus-tice*, . . . summum jus, *the extremity* or *utmost rigor of the law*. . . . II. Transf. A. *A place where justice is administered, a court of jus-tice*, . . . in jus ambula, *come before a magistrate*. . . . B. *Justice, just-ness of a thing.*—C. *Legal right, power, authority, permission.*—Of particular *rights:* jus eundi, *a right of way*, . . . jus civitatis, *the right to obtain the privileges of citizenship* (cf. civitas: v. Krebs, Antibarb. p. 640) . . . patrium, *the power of life and death over their children*, . . . (homo) sui juris, *his own master, inde-pend-ent*, . . . jus ad mulieres, *over the women.—The legal forms* of the old jurists: Jus Flavianum, Dig. 1, 2, 2, § 7.

In comparing these articles our attention is first called to the greater fullness of II. in respect of unusual forms. A. gives only one, namely, *gen. plur.* jurum for jurium, with reference to Cato ap. Charis. only; whereas II. gives three, namely, *gen. plur.* jurum for jurium, juribus and old dative form, jure, each with at least two references, in one of which, however—namely, Plaut. Ep. 3, 4, 86—the reading in the Tauchnitz edition is jurium, the regular form. Secondly, we notice that the defi-nition of the primary meaning in A. is stated merely in the terms ordinarily used to translate jus into English, but in II. an explanation is also made of the sense in which these terms are to be taken as equivalents of jus; namely, as something binding by its nature; and this fuller exegetical explanation is followed by citations from Justinian and the Digest, wherein the meaning is brought out and illustrated in carefully ex-pressed and exact judicial language. In the etymology A.

is entirely unsatisfactory. It is said, indeed, that jus is from the same root as jubeo, but, on consulting the article on that verb, we find no statement of its etymological affinities. Jubeo is probably a compound of jus and habeo; so that the assertion of sameness of origin is most likely partially correct, but does not help to solve the problem. One the other hand, H.'s reference to the Sanscr. yu, the Greek ζεύγνυμι, and Latin jungo, as kindred forms, indicates, we think, the true path to the etymology as well as the primitive signification of jus, and we shall consider this point further in our observations on the article lex. The feature of greater fullness and exactness of statement appears throughout in H., as well as much more copious references to authorities, of which, for example, there are in I. Lit. nineteen additional ones, embracing Justinian's Inst., Gaius, Virgil, Livy, and Juvenal, to whom no reference is here made in A. The phrases "de jure alicui respondere, *to lay down the law*," and "jus fasque est, *human and divine right*," are left unexplained in A. In II. Transf. H. gives twenty additional references to authors, among whom are Horace, Juvenal, Gaius, and Seneca ap. Lact. not cited in A. To the definition given in A., under Sec. C, H. adds the word *permission*, which serves to call attention to the ground of the *legal right, power, authority;* namely, a permission by recognized authority to do a certain thing, as shown by examples quoted. H. adds also a subsection "of particular rights," jus eundi, *a right of way;* jus civitatis, *the right to obtain the privileges of citizenship*, etc. We note that references (I. Lit.) to Plaut. Pers. 1, 3, 26, and Cist., 1, 1, 22, are in A. assigned to Ovid, and in H. those to Cic., Tusc., 3, 12, 26, and Fin., 5, 2, 4, are marked as though belonging to Juvenal, while that to Plaut. As. 1, 1, 20 should be Cis. 1, 1, 22, as correctly given in A.

ANDREWS.

LEX, lēgis, *f.* [2 lego] *A proposition* or *motion for a law*, made to the people by a magistrate, *a bill:* I. Lit. . . . II. Transf.: A. *A bill which has become a law* in consequence of its adoption by the people in the comitia, *a law*, . . . leges duodecim tabularum, *the laws composed by the decemvirs*, the foundation of Roman legislation . . . lege and legibus, *according to law, legally*. . . . 2. In partic.: lege agere, *to proceed according to law;* i. e., *a.* of the lictors, *To execute a sentence* . . . *b. To bring an action according*

to law. . . . B. In gen., *A law, precept, regulation, rule, mode, manner.* . . . Of things, qua sidera lege mearent, *by what law, what rules.* . . . Hence, sine lege, *without order, confusedly* . . . ex lege loci, *quality, nature.* . . . C. *A contract, stipulation, agreement, covenant,* . . . in mancipii lege, *a contract of sale,* . . . Hence of conditions of peace.

HARPERS.

LEX, lēgis, *f.* [perh. Sanscr. root lag, lig, to fasten: Lat. ligo, to bind, oblige: cf. religio] *a proposition* or *motion for a law* made to the people by a magistrate, *a bill,* (cf. institutum.) I. Lit. . . . II. Transf. A. *A bill which has become a law* in consequence of its adoption by the people in the comitia, *a law* (cf. jus, fas, decretum, edictum, scitum) . . . leges duodecim tabularum, *the laws composed by the decemvirs,* the foundation of Roman legislation, . . . barbarica lege jus persequi, i. e., *by the Roman law, that of the Twelve Tables.* . . . B. Esp. in phrases. 1. Lege and legibus, *according to law, by law, legally.* . . . 2. Legis actio, *a statutory process.* . . . 3. Hence, in partic.: lege agere, *to proceed strictly according to law.* a. Of the lictor, *to execute a sentence:*—b. *To bring a legal* or *statutory action.* . . . 4. Fraudem legi facere, *to evade the law,* . . . legi, . . . alcariae, *the law against dicing.* . . . C. In gen. *a law, precept, regulation, principle, rule, mode, manner.* . . . Of things: quâ sidera lege mearent, *by what law, what rule.* . . . Hence, sine lege, *without order, in confusion, confusedly* . . . in or sub lege loci, *quality, nature.* . . . D. *A contract, agreement, covenant.* . . . in mancipii lege, *a contract of sale.* . . . E. *A condition, stipulation,* (cf. condicio.) 1. In gen. (mostly ante-class.). . . . 2. Hence, of conditions or terms of peace. . . . F. In eccl. Lat. esp., *the law of Moses* . . . also of *a precept of the Mosaic law.*

The length of the article in Harpers is twice that of the one in Andrews, and exhibits with greater minuteness the shades of meaning. Under I. Lit. we find in Harpers a reference (additional) to Juvenal, 2, 72, (where lex occurs in connection with jus,) also to a synonymous word, "institutum," and a transfer of a reference in Andrews to Cic. Lael. 12 (legem sancire) from this division, where it does not belong, to sect. C. (in Andrews, B.) of transferred meanings, where it pertinently illustrates the signification given. In II. Transf., Harpers divides the sect. A. of Andrews into two, A. and B., and by means of this division and the further subdivision of B., (as marked 1, 2, 3, a, b, 4,) presents not only a fuller but better classification of the meanings in connection with the illustrating references, of which we have in these two sections of Harpers nine additional ones, including three to Plautus, and one each to Gaius, Dona-

tus, and Valerius Maximus, not referred to by Andrews in his sect. A. The indication of the synonyms, (jus, fas, decretum, edictum, scitum,) the explanation of the phrase "barbarica lege," (used in Plautus,) of Legis actio, and of those given under subsection 4, are additional points of superiority in Harpers not to be overlooked. Harpers' sect. C. (B. of Andrews) shows no marked difference in method, but a far more copious apparatus of references to authors, twenty-five additional ones being given, and including Seneca, Quintilian, Juvenal, Gellius, Tacitus, and Pliny the younger, not quoted by Andrews. The sect. C. of Andrews is also divided into two by Harpers, viz., D. and E., whereby the distinction in signification and use of lex is more exactly indicated, i. e., whether the idea is that of a contract or simply a stipulation. We find in these two sects. in Harpers twelve additional references to authors, including Plautus, Terence, Horace, Juvenal, Virgil, and Statius not here referred to in Andrews. The whole of sect. F in Harpers is additional, and gives the uses of the word in ecclesiastical Latin. We note two errors of reference in Harpers to Plautus: that to Ep. 3, 4, 39, should be 3, 4, 35, and that to Stich. 3, 1, 58, should be 4, 1, 58.

Recurring to the etymology of Jus, we may ask, How or what does it unite or join together? A careful reading of other passages from Latin authors quoted in Harpers will, we think, suggest that it expresses the conception of the true social principle of respect for the rights of others, which, as a bond of brotherhood and equity, unites man to man as social beings, and to the divine powers that preside over and protect the families of men. To the quotations given in Harpers we may add a reference to passages in Cic., (Leg. 1, 15,) "est unum jus, quo devincta hominum societas," etc., and (De Rep. 1, 32.) "quare, quum lex sit civilis societulis vinculum," etc., and Lact. (Div. Inst. vi, 10) "primum justitiae officium est conjungi cum deo, secundum cum homine," "with which compare Christ's teachings in regard to the first and second commandments." Matt. xxii, 36–40. In this view then jus is the embodiment in language of the ideas of equity which underlie and bind together the frame-work of society in its relations to itself, its inferiors, and to deity. When men obey the behests of justice, (justitia,) the incarnation of the conceptions of jus, they help to bind

men together as equal sharers in the gifts and muniments of the social compact. When they disregard her commands, they break asunder the bonds of union, and make war on human society itself, the offspring of the divine beneficence, and promoter of the happiness of man. Lex also denotes, but in a more restricted sense, a binding together. Its proper sphere and object is not mankind, but the State, by whose authority it is established. It is the concrete, legal formulation of some one or more of the elements of jus, as applicable to the conditions and wants of a particular nation or time. We are led by these thoughts to consider for a moment the import of the word *religio*, etymologically related to lex. Harpers gives the two etymologies of this word, viz., that of Cicero and that of Servius, Lactantius, and Augustine, with the statement that the latter is generally preferred. A high authority, Max Müller, has recently expressed a preference for Cicero's view, (Or. of Rel., pp. 10, 11, N. Y. 1879,) and refers, in support thereof, to the oft-cited passage from an earlier poet found in Gellius, 4, 9, viz., "religentem esse oportet, religiosum nefas." But the participial form, religens, here found, was not a word used in speech, but coined by the poet to favor this etymology, (see G. F. Schoemann's note to Cic., De Nat. Deor., II. 28, 72.) Nor does the example quoted by him from Cic., Font., 9, 20, negative the view that religio, used subjectively, was originally restricted to reverence for the gods. Why should not man's respect for an oath spring from his reverence for the gods? This would but add to the power of an oath by appealing to the higher sentiment, reverence for, as well as to the lower feeling, fear of, the gods. And, further, the sense of holding back or restraining is not the primary one in religio, but naturally follows as a secondary one. It seems to us that Cicero's etymology leads to a very inadequate conception of the force and import of the word religio, as understood by the Romans, as well as by us. It suggests mental processes too metaphysical for the ordinary man, seeking to know his relations to the higher powers. The etymology which connects religio with religare, compounded of ligare, to tie or fasten, and re or red, meaning, anew or again, gives the sense of refastening or tieing together again, and leads to the conception of the root idea of it as something reuniting man to the gods. This conception

further implies a belief, taught not only in the creeds of Christendom, but found set forth with more or less prominence in all systems of religion, in a fall of man from an original condition of harmony with the divine ruling power of the world. The Romans were an Aryan race, and we might reasonably expect to find in their religious ideas, as well as in their language, links of thought connecting with those of the Hindu people; and we meet in the late Dean Hardwick's "Christ and other Masters," (Lond., 1875,) with a remarkable statement touching this very point. In the section (pp. 229–232) headed "The Hindu hope of Restoration," he says: "This dim and elementary idea," [viz., that a Saviour would come from heaven to deliver man from his deadliest foes, and reinstate him in his lost inheritance,] "pointing to a future *religatio* of the human and divine, and so pervading all systems of religions, was especially manifest in the traditions of Hindus respecting the descent of God to earth in various forms of creaturely existence." We take it, then, that religio primarily means the act of reuniting, of refastening, so to speak, the human to the divine, of man to God. Whether in subjective adoration or prostration of spirit, in the silent language of the heart, man offered praise or prayer, or, objectively, in ceremonial forms, worshiped his god, he did so in the hope that these acts would help to restore him to the divine favor, and renew the bonds of confidence and love.

Without entering upon any discussion of the proper aim, extent, and functions of a general dictionary of a language, we may adopt the sentiment of Grimm, that such a dictionary ought to be a sanctuary of its language, wherein all its treasures are gathered and held open to the use of all—a memorial of the people whose past and present meet therein. The composition of an ideally complete dictionary of any language is an achievement hardly within the compass of human ability. But the preparation of dictionaries for special authors and special objects and branches of knowledge is an easier task, because of their more limited scope; and as such multiply and are brought nearer to standards of completeness, the work of the general lexicographer will be facilitated. The useful work of Anthony Rich, "*The Illustrated Companion to the Latin Dictionary and Greek Lexicon*," suggests a future improvement

in general dictionaries of the ancient languages by the incorporation therein of like illustrations. Harpers' *New Latin Dictionary* furnishes for English and American students the fullest, and, taken in all respects, the completest exhibit of the words of the Latin tongue in their origin, forms, grammatical and historical development, and uses, as expressions of the thoughts and feelings of the Roman people throughout the ebb and flow of historical and social movements in their natural life. It is a production creditable alike to the scholarship, skill, and patient industry of the editors, and to the enterprise of the publishers, who have in it given to the public the best dictionary of the Latin language for general use among English-speaking people which has yet appeared.

Art. VII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Reviews.

Baptist Review, April, May, June, 1880. (Cincinnati.)—1. A Study of Elijah; by Rev. G. F. Genung. 2. The Fragment of Muratori, and the Origin of a Collection of Apostolic Catholic Scriptures; by Adolf Harnack. 3. Paul's Doctrine of Sin; by Professor E. P. Gould. 4. Increasing Harmony on Essential Doctrines Among Evangelical Christians; by Rev. J. L. Burrows, D.D. 5. The Design of the Ordinances; by Rev. Thomas S. Barbour. 6. The Rock that Followed Them; by Rev. H. A. Sawtelle, D.D.

Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1880. (Andover.)—1. A Study in Biblical Biography; by Rev. George F. Herrick, D.D. 2. The Duration of Future Punishment; by Rev. Ezra P. Gould. 3. Music, A Language; by Rev. Thomas Hill, D.D., LL.D. 4. Pascal, The Thinker; by Prof. Jacob Cooper, LL. D. 5. Do the Scriptures Prohibit the Use of Alcoholic Beverages? by Rev. A. B. Rich, D.D. 6. Hartmann's Philosophy of the Unconscious; by Rev. Charles F. Thwing. 7. Bernard of Clairvaux as a Preacher, from the German of Dr. A. Brömel; by Prof. H. E. Jacobs, D.D. 8. The Sabbath; The Change of Observance from the Seventh to the Lord's Day; by Rev. William De Loss Love.

Cumberland Presbyterian Quarterly, April, 1880. (Lebanon, Tenn.)—1. The Mosaic Jurisprudence; by Hon. R. C. Ewing. 2. Baptismal Regeneration.—Part 2; by S. G. Burney, D.D. 3. The Ethics of St. Paul; by William Campbell, D.D. 4. Sanctification; by J. W. Poindexter, D.D.

New Englander, January, 1880. (New Haven.)—1. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew; by Prof. George P. Fisher. 2. A Chinese Historical Novel; by Prof. S. Wells Williams, M. D. 3. Spelling Reform; by J. G. Pyle. 4. A Scholar of the Twelfth Century; by Prof. Thomas R. Lounsbury. 5. Thoughts on Congregationalism—Its Past and Its Future; by President Noah Porter. 6. Some Contributions which the West may be expected to make to the Congregationalism of the Future; by Rev. Henry A. Stimson.

New England Historical and Genealogical Register, January, 1880. (Boston.)—1. Sketch of the Life of Amos Lawrence; by Rev. Solon W. Bush. 2. Record of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety; printed by permission of Samuel F. M'Clery, Esq., City Clerk. 3. Nicholas Upsall; by

Augustine Jones, Esq. 4. Longmeadow Families; communicated by Willard S. Allen, A.M. 5. Wittingham Genealogy; by Mrs. Caroline H. Dall. 6. Births, Marriages, and Deaths in Lyme, Conn.; communicated by the late Rev. Frederick W. Chapman, A.M. 7. King's Arms Tavern, Boston; with Suggestions for Indexing Public Records; by John T. Hassam, A.M. 8. Tappan Genealogy; by Herbert Tappan, Esq. 9. Letter of Rev. Thomas Prince, of Boston, 1728; communicated by John J. Loud, A.M. 10. William Johnson and his Descendants; by G. W. Johnson. 11. Genealogical Letter of John Quincy Adams; communicated by Rev. Horace E. Hayden. 12. Genealogy of Thomas Williams, of New Hartford, N. Y.; by George H. Williams, Esq. 13. Letters of Charles Lidget and Francis Foxcroft, 1692; communicated by John S. H. Fogg, M.D. 14. Marriages by the Rev. Benjamin Colman, 1715; communicated by Henry F. Waters, A.B. 15. Records of the Rev. Samuel Danforth, of Roxbury; communicated by William B. Trask, Esq. 16. Mission of Penhallow and Atkinson to the Penobscot Indians; communicated by the late Capt. William F. Goodwin, U. S. A. 17. Marriages in Boston by Several Clergymen, 1701–1743. 18. Account Books of the First Church in Charleston; communicated by James F. Hunnewell, Esq.

April.—1. Sketch of the Life of Rev. John A. Vinton, A. M.; by Rev. Increase N. Tarbox, D.D. 2. Bristol Church Records, 1687–1710; communicated by Geo. T. Paine. 3. Annual Address before the N. E. Historic Genealogical Society; by the President, Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, Ph.D. 4. Who is a Gentleman? by John D. Champlin, Jun., A. M. 5. How to Write Town Histories; by Hon Charles Hudson, A. M. 6. Records of the Rev. Samuel Danforth, of Roxbury; communicated by William B. Trask, Esq. 7. Record of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety. 8. Genealogy of the Family of Mulford; communicated by William R. Mulford, Esq. 9. Portraits of New Hampshire Governors and Others; by Hon. Benjamin F. Prescott. 10. Seals in the Collection of Mellen Chamberlin; by the Committee on Heraldry N. E. H. G. S. 11. Letter from the Earl of Bellomont; communicated by William B. Trask, Esq. 12. Early Records of New Hampshire Families; communicated by Rev. Alonzo H. Quint, D.D. 13. Longmeadow Families; communicated by Willard S. Allen, A. M. 14. Marriages in Boston by Several Clergymen, 1702–1719; communicated by William S. Appleton, A. M. 15. A Sketch of the Howlands; by L. M. Howland. 16. Letter of Walter Barnesley, of London, 1667, to William Pitkin, of Hartford; communicated by Edwin Hubbard, Esq. 17. Descendants of Benedict Arnold. 18. Births, Marriages, and Deaths in Dartmouth; communicated by J. B. Congdon, Esq.

Oriental and Biblical Journal. Issued Quarterly. Volume I., No. I. (Chicago.)

Princeton Review, May, 1880. (New York.)—1. The Human and the Brute Mind; by Professor Francis Bowen. 2. Reform of Women's Education; by Sir Alex. Grant, Bt., D.C.L. 3. The Newest Atheism; by Noah Porter. 4. Organization of Labor; by Simon Newcomb, LL.D. 5. The Resurrection of Christ; by Rev. Phillip Schaff, D.D., LL.D. 6. Political Economy a Science—Of What; by Professor Lyman H. Atwater, D.D., LL.D. 7. Haeckel on the "Evolution of Man;" Principal J. W. Dawson, LL.D., F.R.S.

Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, April, 1880. (Nashville, Tenn.)—1. One of the Grand Old Fathers. 2. Development of Monotheism Among the Greeks. 3. Lovick Pierce. 4. Beyond the Grave. 5. The Light of Asia. 6. Conformity to Law in the Divine Economy. 7. Van Oosterzee's Practical Theology. 8. The Three Creeds. 9. Terminism.

English Reviews.

British Quarterly Review, April, 1880. (London.)—1. Planets, Moons, and Meteorites. 2. Winckelmann. 3. The Profession of an "Architect." 4. The English System of Penal Servitude. 5. The Revolutionary Movement in Russia. 6. Circumstantial Evidence. 7. The Political Situation.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, April, 1880. (London.)—1. Nature of the Divine Inspiration of Scripture; by Rev. Professor M'Gregor, D.D. 2. Strictures on the Article "Bible," in the Recent Edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica;" by Rev. Professor Watts, D.D. 3. The Latest Phase of the Pentateuch Question; by Rev. Alfred Cave, B. A. 4. Methodism in Ireland; Life of Gideon Ouseley; by Rev. W. Irwin. 5. Jabez; by Professor John Campbell. 6. The Conservation of Energy; by Borden P. Bowne. 7. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew; by Professor George P. Fisher, D.D. 8. Rationalism in the Church *versus* Rationalism Without; by Rev. Samuel M. Smith.

Edinburgh Review, April, 1880. (New York.)—1. Ritualistic Literature. 2. Bigelow's Life of Benjamin Franklin. 3. Mohammedanism in China. 4. The Schools of Charles the Great. 5. Modern Horse-racing. 6. Catholic Rule in Ireland, 1641–48. 7. The late Professor Clifford's Essays. 8. Burton's Reign of Queen Anne. 9. The New Parliament.

London Quarterly Review, April, 1880. (London.)—1. The Authorship of Nature. 2. The Approaching Perihelia of the Larger Planets. 3. Religious Liberty in Europe. 4. Kafirland: The Native Policy of the Cape Colony. 5. Two Indian Missionaries. 6. Mind and Brain. 7. Is Life Worth Living? 8. M. Berger on the Bible in the Sixteenth Century.

London Quarterly Review, April, 1880. (New York.)—1. David Hume. 2. The English Flower Garden. 3. The Marquess Wellesley. 4. The Book of Common Prayer. 5. Memoirs of Madame de Rémusat. 6. The Chinese in Central Asia. 7. The Taxation of India. 8. The Slavonic Menace to Europe. 9. The Conservative Defeat.

Westminster Review, April, 1880. (New York.)—1. The Marquess Wellesley. 2. Artistic Copyright. 3. Masson's Life of Milton. 4. Greek Humanists: Nature and Law. 5. The Letters of Charles Dickens. 6. Animal Intelligence. 7. The Issues of the Election.

German Reviews.

Zeitschrift fur Kirchengeschichte. (Journal for Church History.) Edited by Dr. Brieger. Volume IV. Number 1. *Essays:* 1. Reuter, Augustinian Studies, (First Article.) 2. Uhlhorn, Preparatory Studies for a History of Christian Charity in the Middle Ages. 3. Schultz, Luther's View of the Method and the Limits of the Doctrinal Statements concerning God. *Critical Reviews:* Buddensieg, English Works on the History of the Reformation, published from 1876 to 1878. *Analecta:* 1. Schultze, The Christian Inscription in Pompeii. 2. Muller, Fragments of Homilies of Photius. 3. Lenz, The Correspondence of Landgrave Philipp with Luther and Melanchthon.

The history of Christian charity, says Dr. Uhlhorn in this second article, has yet been but rarely treated of, and least by Protestants and in Germany. A well-known French work by Chastel, which has also been translated into German, (*Etudes historiques sur l'influence de la charité durant les premiers siècles chrétiens*, Paris, 1853,) embraces only the first centuries. From a Catholic point of view Dr. Ratzinger has written a work on the history of the Church charities in regard to the poor, (*Geschichte der kirchlichen Armenpflege*, Freiburg, 1868.) He ignores the evangelical Church altogether, is unacquainted

with what the Protestant Churches have done for the poor, and does not even try to explain the causes which brought about the great changes in the character of the Church charities of the Middle Ages as compared with those of the early age of the Christian Church. These causes, Dr. Uhlhorn insists, must be looked for in the change of ethical views. The practical charities of an age will always be conditioned by the ethical point of view from which riches and poverty are judged, by the value attached to labor and to the earthly vocation of man, and by the conception of a Christian's duty in regard to charity. The history of the changes of these ethical views has been hitherto too much ignored. Dr. Uhlhorn's essay is intended to trace the peculiar manifestations of Christian charity in the Church of the Middle Ages to the ethical views prevailing in those times. He mentions two characteristic points of the Church charities of the Middle Ages: first, the absence of any regulated care of the poor; the absolute control of all acts of charity by the Church authorities. There was no lack of acts of charity; perhaps they were more frequent than at other times; numerous religious orders and societies devoted themselves to the care of the sick and the poor, and frequently showed a spirit of self-sacrifice which calls forth our admiration, but every thing was isolated, disconnected, and without regulation. We meet with no provision to adopt preventive measures to ward off threatening poverty, and with no systematic efforts to remove existing poverty. The donors do not give directly to, and do not directly exert themselves in behalf of, the poor, but the poor receive every thing as a gift from the Church authorities. It was not so in the Church preceding that of the Middle Ages. Then there was a regulated system of caring for the poor, conducted by deacons under the supervision of the bishop. When the emperors became Christians State and Church co-operated in the dispensation of charities. The State government left the care of the poor in the hands of the Church, but supported the Church, and in exchange obtained some kind of control. In the legislation of Charlemagne for the poor we still find an example of regulations for the support of the poor of a mixed ecclesiastical and secular character. After Charlemagne legislation of this class begins to disappear, and in the eleventh century no trace of it is found. About one century before the

Reformation a reaction against the monopolization of the care for the poor in the hands of the Church manifests itself in the towns. The town authorities begin to have an influence upon the badly administered hospitals, and the charities dispensed by the guilds emancipate themselves from the guidance of the priests. The principles of the Reformation were hardly anywhere else so successful as in establishing certain principles for the regulation of Christian charities, for which the active co-operation of the Christian congregation and of the municipal authorities was generally secured. The author then enters into an elaborate discussion of the views of the mediæval Church regarding private property, poverty, almsgiving, beggary, and shows how injurious an influence these views had to exert, and actually did exert, upon the social condition of the mediæval States. A book which was published at the time of the Reformation states that in Germany of every fifteen persons only one worked, and the fourteen others were idlers and beggars.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology. Edited by Hilgenfeld.) Third Number, 1880. 1. E. VON HARTMANN, The Philosophical Presuppositions in the Dogmatic System of Lipsius. 2. GRIMM, On Koheleth iii, 11. 3. HILGENFELD, The Gnostic Valentinus and his Writings. 4. SPIEGEL, Dr. Bertheaus' Essay on Albert Rizâfus Hardenberg. 5. KNEUCKER, The Baruch Question. 6. TOLLIN, Servetus' Anthropology and Soteriology. 7. EGLI, Critical Remarks on Genesis xxiii. 8. NESTLE, Remarks on Ezra vi, 51.

The theological school named after Valentinus is said to have been the most influential of all the Gnostic parties, and to have contained a large number of talented and eminent teachers. (See M'Clintock and Strong, Cyclopædia, art. Gnosticism.) In the above article Professor Hilgenfeld collates the scanty information on Valentinus which is found in ancient writers, publishes the very meager fragments which are extant of his writings, and, in conclusion, attempts to construct a brief summary of his doctrinal system. In the following lines we give a brief abstract of Professor Hilgenfeld's article. Epiphanius found no account of the home of Valentinus in the writers on the ancient heresies. He only mentions the report that Valentinus was born on the sea-coast of Egypt, and received a Hellenistic education in Alexandria. As we know that the Gnostic Basilides taught at Alexandria under the Emperor Hadrian, it is well possible that Valentinus may have received

impressions from him. Valentinus subsequently taught himself at Alexandria very successfully without falling into the reputation of being a heretic. According to Epiphanius, Valentinus found many adherents in different parts of Egypt without being regarded as a heretic. It is less probable that, as the same Epiphanius states, Valentinus taught even in Rome for some time without giving offense, and that he did not apostatize from the Orthodox faith until he took up his residence in Cyprus. Valentinus arrived in Rome, according to the testimony of Irenæus, under Bishop Hyginus, (between 136 and 140.) He taught there acceptably during the episcopate of Pius, (between 140 and 155,) and remained until the time of Bishop Anicetus, (about 155 or 156.) It is likely that in Rome he soon fell out with the ruling Church, for in the writings of Justin, about 147, he is mentioned as a heretic. Tertullian commits an obvious blunder when he places the arrival of Valentinus at Rome in the episcopate of Eleutherus, (between 175 and 189,) but he confirms the report that Valentinus was not yet a heretic when he arrived at Rome. It is even by no means impossible that, as the same Tertullian states, Valentinus fell out with the Church because he failed in his aspiration to be elected bishop. Why should he not have aspired, at the death of Hyginus, at the Roman see? Do we not find among the occupants of this see the Patripassian Kallistos, the Arian Felix, and Honorius, the author of Monothelism. The Chronicles of Eusebius, which twice mention Valentinus, also favor the opinion that he was not yet an outspoken heretic when he arrived at Rome during this episcopate of Hyginus. Valentinus resided in Rome for about twenty years, as the active head of a heretical sect. It appears probable that the sojourn of Valentinus on Cyprus, to which island he came by shipwreck, took place before his arrival in Rome, that he fell out with the ruling Church neither in Egypt nor on Cyprus, but in Rome, where he arrived about 140 and died about 160. Thus Valentinus belongs to the inventors of heresies who, according to Clement of Alexandria, began to make their appearance in Rome during the reign of Emperor Hadrian, (117 to 138,) and continued to agitate the Church during the reign of Antoninus Pius, (138 to 161.) The same Church writer states that Valentinus boasted of be-

ing a disciple of Theodas, an acquaintance of Paul. All the ancient Church writers represent him as a man of great genius. Valentinus founded a school which spread not only in Egypt and Rome, but also in Syria and Gaul, and maintained itself especially in the East for more than a century. The doctrinal system of the master was partly developed, partly transformed by some of his scholars. Irenæus, who treats very fully of Valentinianism, refers chiefly to the schools of Ptolemy and of Marcus, between which he found considerable disagreement. Irenæus, however, is himself more an opponent of, than a reporter on, the Gnostics, who in general appear different in their own writings from what the writers of the early Church represent them to be. The works of Valentinus are lost, but many fragments are preserved in other writings. They were collected by Grabe in the first volume of his *Spicilegium SS. Patrum ut et haereticorum seculi post Christum natum*, I, II, III. (Oxford, 1700.) One of these fragments which is taken from *Adamantii Dial de secta in deum fide*, sec. iv, (Origenis Opp. i, 840, sq.,) does not seem to be a fragment, of Valentinus at all, but rather part of a dialogue in which a Valentinian is introduced. On the other hand, Grabe did not yet know the celebrated work, entitled *Philosophumena sive omnium haeresium refutatio*, which has been handed down to us under the name of Origen, but was probably compiled by Hippolytus, and which was for the first time published from a Parisian manuscript by Miller, (Oxford, 1851,) and again with a Latin translation by Duncker, (Goettingen, 1859.) In this work Hilgenfeld finds two fragments of works of Valentinus, one of which he believes to have been part of a work called Σοφία, which is mentioned by Tertullian, while the other is a part of the Psalms of Valentinus, which are likewise mentioned by Tertullian. Neither of the Σοφία nor of the Psalms of Valentinus had Grabe been able to give any fragment. Hilgenfeld, publishes the complete text of all the fragments, both the old and the new, explains them, and then concludes his article by an attempt to construct from these fragments an outline of the system of Valentinus. He believes that the fragments give us a more faithful picture of the remarkable man than the writings of his opponents. The chief points in the Valentinian system were, according to Hilgenfeld, as follows:

Valentinus proceeded from the "living Aeon," as the true source. He still conceived the *Αἰων* as a unit, like the Gnostics of Irenæus. The unity of the Aeon is, however, by no means devoid of distinction. The primitive being is the "only good" Father. This Father has a Son, through whose revelation alone he can become present. At least very near to the Father and the Son stands the Logos, but also the pre-existing Anthropos. Thus the fragments point to a plurality of Aeons. The material body was regarded by Valentinus neither as an immediate nor as a perfect creation of the true God, but as a defective imitation of the living Aeon, executed, as it were, by a painter according to a model furnished by the highest Majesty, but stamped with the name of God, and authenticated by the invisible One. The painter is the creator of the material world, the first of a plurality of angels of the same kind. These angels fashion the created man upon the name of the pre-existing Anthropos. The latter (or the Son, or the Logos) invisibly fits man out with the seed of the Supreme (divine) Being. Adam, therefore, immediately startles his creators by lofty words, so that they disfigure or even destroy their work. The disfiguration of the original creation of men is the earthly man. Even the cosmic man is inspired with fear and trembling by statues and pictures, as well as by every thing that is framed by hands in the name of God. Into the hearts of man many unclean spirits or demons walk in and out, as in a hostelry, and work things improper. Nevertheless, the seed of the Supreme Being remains in a part of the human race. The "Only Good" becomes present to the race of earthly men through the Son in order to purify the hearts even up to the intuition of God. The Son, indeed, does not become a real man. But he founds a congregation among men, which is kept together not only by an external word or law of God, but by internal words of the heart, and by an inner law, and which is united with the Son in mutual love. Even after the appearance of the Son upon earth, the divine Logos is incarnated in man, who develops in himself the seed of the Divine Essence, may have the consciousness to be elevated above what is transitory, and to have assumed mortality only to overcome it. All difference of the spiritual and the material world may be traced back to a transcending and controlling unity.

The first article of this number is from the pen of Edward von Hartmann, who, as the author of the "Philosophy of the Unconscious," and as the founder of a new atheistic and pessimistic philosophy, has become widely known. The readers of the Journal, of course, may be surprised to see his name among the contributors, and Professor Hilgenfeld, therefore, deems it necessary to explain, in a prefatory note, that he does not share the views of E. von Hartmann on Christianity, and that his contribution was not solicited by him. But as periodicals are regarded by him as a kind of debating halls, he thinks the admission of an essay by one of the most eminent philosophers to be justifiable, although his views entirely differ from his own, and from those of his theological friends.

French Reviews.

Revue Chretienne, (Christian Review.) March, 1880.—1. Godet, The Recent Hypothesis of M. Renan in Regard to the Origin of the Fourth Gospel. 2. Astic, Correspondence of Doudan, (Second Article.) 3. Bois, An Answer to Fouillée's Article on "Reparative Justice." 4. Jundt, The Friends of God in the Fourteenth Century: A Reply to M. Bouset-Maury. 5. Lichtenberger, German Chronicle.

April.—1. Schmidt, Primary Instruction in the Rural Districts of Lorraine a Hundred Years Ago. 2. Boegner, Bishop Patteson of Melanesia, a Martyr of the Nineteenth Century. 3. Mad. Bonzonne de Gardonne, A Revolt of Conscience. 4. E. W., English Chronicle.

May.—1. E. Schmidt, Primary Instruction in the Rural Districts of Lorraine a Hundred Years Ago, (Second Article.) 2. A. Boegner, A Martyr of the Nineteenth Century: Bishop Patteson of Melanesia, (Second Article.) 3. Mad. Bonzonne de Gardonne, A Revolt of Conscience, (Second Article.) 4. Sabatier, The Crisis of Faith. 5. Mad. Rey, *née* Bonnet, The Young Girl: A Poem.

The monthly Historical Record (*Revue de Mois*) of the *Revue Chrétienne*, in the May number, refers to the introduction of unsectarian schools into France. "The triumph of the lay school in France," it says, "will be undoubtedly a great moral revolution. We must not forget that at the present time we have only denominational schools. It is not the State which gives primary instruction, but the Churches which impart it under the control of the State. The latter wants to take back this right, as it has taken back others. By doing so, it only obeys the logic of the French Revolution. We understand why a political conflict breaks out between the State and the Catholic Church, because the latter asserts her sovereign right

and reclaims a monopoly. But we cannot understand why a conflict should break out between the lay State and Protestantism, which is precisely the radical negation of these theocratic pretensions. Between the government and Protestantism there can be no conflict of principles, but only negotiations for practical application. We (the Protestants) do not know this fatal distinction between priests and laymen. This word cannot have for us the meaning of antireligious, which it has in the eyes of the municipal Council of Paris, and in those of the ultramontanes. Theoretically, we have nothing against the lay school, or against the schools conducted by a teacher who, though in the pay of the government, may nevertheless be an excellent Christian. From a practical point of view, Protestantism can do nothing but reclaim for the pastor the right of going to the school and giving to those children whom their parents wish to intrust to him religious instruction. In this way, it seems to us, the State would reconcile two things which it should regard as equally essential. First, it would acknowledge that there can be no real moral education without religious instruction; and, secondly, it would uphold the true liberty, which consists in respecting the beliefs and the rights of every one. This, in our opinion, is the just and the liberal solution of the question."

Art. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE PARSEES.

Among the religious denominations of the present age the Parsees are, numerically, one of the smallest and most insignificant, but in point of the interest taken in the history of religious beliefs by the civilized world they rank very high. The doctrines of Zoroaster were the State religion of the great Persian Empire, which under Cyrus and some of his successors appeared to have a prospect of becoming the ruler and mistress of the world. After being displaced during five hundred years by the rude Parthians, it was reinstated in the third century, and remained the State religion of the Persians under the dynasties of the Achæmenidae and Sassanidae, until it was crushed by the victories of Mohammedanism. The majority of the worshipers of Ormuzd were gradually compelled to embrace the Islam; most of those who remained faithful to the traditional religion emigrated to India, and only a small handful remained in their native country. But it is not only their glorious history which secures

the remnants of the Parsees an abiding interest; their religion is generally regarded by those who have studied the ancient Oriental systems as the most remarkable which profane antiquity produced, as the most ethical form of heathenism. (See "Methodist Quarterly Review," art., The Zendavesta, 1879, pp. 115–299.) It is a very remarkable fact that even before the Christian era all distinct traces of the age, the character, and the doings of Zoroaster had been lost, and the first work which really sheds light on the subject was not published until the year 1700. Since then the knowledge of Zoroastrianism and its holy book, the Zendavesta, has been revived by the learned works of Anquetil du Perron in the eighteenth, and of Burnouf, Westergaard, Spiegel, and Haug in the nineteenth centuries. While the past history of the Parsees is fully sufficient to secure them for all time to come the interest of thinking and educated men, the present small remnant adds to this interest by its remarkable intelligence. The "Gazette of Augsburg" has recently (March 31, April 1, 2, 3) published an interesting article on "The Remnants of the Old Parsees in Persia," from the pen of E. Baron von Gödel-Lannoy, a German writer living in Teheran, Persia, from which we take a few extracts. The writer states that he has received many details on the manner and customs of the Parsees from the chief of the Guebers or Parsees in Teheran, Mr. Manuktshee Limdjee.

Ever since Persia has been conquered by the Mohammedans the Parsees have been subjected to a cruel persecution, and these persecutions still continue, with a view to forcing them to embrace the Islam. At the close of the year 1879 the Parsees took a census of their numbers, when it was found that they numbered in Yezd and about twenty surrounding villages, 6,483; in Kirman and the neighborhood, 1,498; in Sheeraz, 30; in Busheer, 12; in Kashaw, 15; in Teheran, 150; total in Persia, 8,188. The Parsees are a beautiful race. They are mostly tall, strong, sinewy men, whose mild, sympathetic features remind one of the antique heads on the sculptures of Persepolis, as well as on the Sassanide coins. The fine oval of the face, the strong, slightly-bent aquiline nose, high eyebrows over the beautifully cut dark eyes, the sad clouded looks of which reflect a thousand years' servitude, the full though not luxurious beard, are external ornaments of this people which are expressly mentioned by travelers and writers. The Guebers still represent the old Persian people, since they absolutely disfavor marriage with people of other religions, and have kept themselves pure and unmixed, while the other Persians have suffered a very considerable infusion of Arabic, Turkish, Mongolian, Afghan, and other elements.

Intellectually, the present Guebers of Persia are inferior to the Mohammedan Persians, which may be explained by the fact that for centuries they have had no opportunity for obtaining an education. But they exceed the Mohammedans morally. Like their forefathers, they detest lying, and are undoubtedly the most honest people of Persia, while the modern Persians appear to have no understanding of honor, truth, or honesty. They have two classes of priests, Dasturs (priests of a higher

rank) and Mobeds, (priests of a lower rank.) There are only two dasturs in Persia, one in Yezd and one in Kirman. Their dignity has gradually become hereditary, although, according to the description of Zoroaster, the man who can exhibit the largest number of good works should be elected. A dastur who makes himself unworthy of his position can be deposed. The dasturs are regarded as the most prominent of their race, and, therefore, act also as judges, being frequently called upon to settle as arbiters difficulties among their coreligionists concerning national and hereditary laws. This judicial power is conceded to them by the Persian Government all the more readily as, according to Mohammedan principles, the judicial power emanates from the ecclesiastical. Even in the theocratic government of old Persia, the Magi, who were regarded as mediators between Ormuzd and his people, had a great power in secular affairs. The doctrine of Zoroaster was, like the Koran, the fundamental law of the State, which was explained to the king by the Dasturan Dastur, (chief of the Magi.) Thus the chief legislative power was really vested in the head of the religion. The Koran probably received the idea of a fusion of the State and religious principles, like many other institutions, from the religion of Zoroaster. Mobeds, or priests of the lower rank, are found in every congregation of Guebers, and their functions are limited to divine worship. Fire-temples are only allowed to exist in their chief seats, and even there not publicly, but they are tacitly tolerated in private dwellings. At present there are twenty-six fire-temples in Yezd and the surrounding villages, and three in Kerman and its vicinity. Their structure and arrangement is very plain. The congregation assembles for prayer in a room which resembles a hall, and which adjoins a circumvallated yard. In a corner of this room stands an altar upon which a mobed kindles a small flame six times within twenty-four hours. This main room is connected with a smaller, dark room, the sanctuary, where the holy fire is preserved under a heap of ashes upon an altar. Only the priests have access to this room. The numerous ceremonies which attended the divine worship in ancient times have gradually been simplified, and the people, who are mostly poor and uneducated, also dispense with the very incommodious washings, of which there were several kinds, according to the degree of the contracted impurity. Only the priests continue to observe somewhat more accurately the old precepts. Education among the Guebers of Persia is at present in a very unsatisfactory condition, because great obstacles are put in their way. In Yezd and Kirman the mobeds generally take charge of the elementary instruction of the children, and also endeavor to acquaint them with the fundamental tenets of their religion. Some years ago the chief of the Guebers in Teheran, Mr. Manuktshee Limdjee, a native of Bombay, was enabled, by the protection of the English embassy, to establish a school, in which about one hundred children of Guebers from all parts of Persia were instructed in religion, national history, and especially in the Persian language. The school has, however, recently been discontinued, and the Guebers of Persia are thus left without any

institutions in their own country in which their children can receive a higher education. Of ancient books and writings little appears to be left in Yezd and Teheran. Special inquiries made by a European traveler in those regions led to no result, and Mr. Manuktshee, who likewise spent some time in those places, was equally unsuccessful. It appears, therefore, probable that the hope which was expressed by W. Ouseley that important literary treasures might still be found among the Parsees will not be realized. The Parsees are not allowed by the Mohammedans to ride either on horseback or on asses, but they have always to travel on foot. Like other tribes subjected by Mohammedans they have to pay a capital tax, which amounts to about nine thousand francs annually, and is paid for them to the Persian Government by their coreligionists in India. The apostasy of their members to the Islam is encouraged by the law, which transfers the whole property of a Parsee family to that member which embraces the Islam.

In British India the descendants of the Parsees are in a much more fortunate condition than in their native land. They chiefly live in the Presidency of Bombay, where they numbered, according to the last census, more than 132,000 souls. Of these 44,000 lived on the island of Bombay, where they have three fire-temples, erected in the years 1780, 1830, and 1844. The English government has protected them from all oppression, and regulated by special law their marriage affairs, their property, and their hereditary laws. They have gained a very high reputation for honesty and intelligence, and as merchants, bankers, shipowners, builders of railroads, literary men, and, especially, as high-minded philanthropists, have taken an active and a very prominent part in the development of their second home. One of the noblest and most liberal merchants of India, Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, received in 1842 the title Sir, and was in 1858 raised to the baronetcy. He spent more than £300,000 sterling for philanthropic purposes. His memory is perpetuated by a statue in the town-hall of Bombay. In London the Parsee commercial firm of Cama & Co. has been established. Recently a reform movement has sprung up among the Parsees of India, which aims at discarding the principle of a radical dualism. In reply to an English clergyman, J. Wilson, who some forty years ago wrote a work against the principles of the Parsee religion, two Parsee scholars denied that the sect had a doctrine that every thing existing in the world had proceeded from two principles. One of them, Doshabhai, maintained that the words found in the Vendidad on Ormuzd and Ahriman were only a parable of their prophet Zoroaster, describing the good and bad qualities in man. According to the other Parsee writer, Aspendiardjee, Ahriman is not a real being, but only a symbol for vice and evil. The doctrine of Dualism is also opposed in the Vadshar-Kart, a book which is ascribed to Mediomah, the uncle of Zoroaster, but which probably dates from a very recent time. According to this book Ahriman is a powerless creature of Ormuzd, who has created all creatures, useful as well as hurtful, each of which, however, serves for some purpose in the creation.

Art. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

From the posthumous works of the late Dr. von Hofmann, one of the most distinguished theologians of the Lutheran Church, and Professor of Theology at the University of Erlangen, a new compendium of theological science has been published by Bestmann, (*Encyclopädie der Theologie*, Nördlingen, 1879.) The work does not give, as some might suppose from the title, a treatment of all important theological subjects in alphabetical order, but it gives the author's views on the entire system of theological science, its divisions and subdivisions, and their mutual relations to each other. All German students of theology are bound to hear a course of lectures on this subject, and of late quite a number of text-books on the subject have been published. The best known German work on the subject is that by Hagenbach; some years ago a shorter work was published by J. P. Lange, and recently a posthumous work of Emil Rothe, author of the great work on Christian ethics, has been announced.

Besides the *Encyclopädie*, a work on Biblical Hermeneutics has been compiled from the manuscripts and lectures of the late Dr. Hofmann. (*Biblische Hermeneutik*, Nördlingen, 1880.) It is edited by M. Volck.

The work of the late Bishop Haneberg, of Spires, on the Gospel of John, has been completed by the appearance of the second volume. (*Evangelium nach Johannes übersetzt*, etc., Munich, 1880.) The editor of the work is Professor Schegg, who is himself the author of several exegetical works, and of a life of Jesus. The present volume also constitutes the tenth volume of a collective commentary to the Gospels.

The centenary of the birthday of De Wette (January 12, 1880) has called forth a short biography of the celebrated theologian, by Professor Stähelin, of the University of Basle. Most of the works of De Wette still have a wide circulation in revised editions and in translations, and a brief sketch of their author will therefore be a welcome gift to many of his admirers. The author of the sketch, Professor Stähelin, is well known in the theological world as a Church historian.

A special work on the "Account of the Temptation of Christ, Examined in Regard to its Historical Basis," has been published by A. Hünefeld, (*Versuchungsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1880.) The author takes as his guide the opinion of the Church historian Neander, according to whom the biblical account of the temptation contains not only an ideal, but a historical truth, which, however, is reported in a symbolical form.

The theological literature of Russia is steadily growing in importance, and begins to produce works which are favorably noticed by the scholars of Western Europe. A work by Barsow, on "The Patriarch of Constantinople, and his Authority over the Russian Church," (St. Petersburg, 1878.) is pronounced by a reviewer in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* of Leipsic to be one of the best works published in Russia on Church history.

Art. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Fragments: Religious and Theological. A Collection of Independent Papers Relating to Various Points of Christian Life and Doctrine. By Daniel Curry. 12mo., pp. 375. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1880. Price, $1 50.

Platform Papers: Addresses, Discussions, and Essays on Social, Moral, and Religious Subjects. By Daniel Curry. 12mo., pp. 389. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1880.

Thousands of our Church who have felt the gratification of being readers in past years of Dr. Curry's productions scattered through our periodicals, and in other forms, will be glad to receive these two volumes, made up by his own hands, of selections from his mass of writings, and reduced to permanent form. In style and thought they are an acknowledged part of our literature, discussing the living topics of our Church and age in a free, bold, thoughtful spirit. Independence, individualism, and vigor, characterize all he writes. He has not, we think, much studied style and manner as an art; but his style of language takes form and character from his style of thought, being its natural self-investment. The genial humor that forms so large a part of his personal demeanor and conversation among his friends never appears in his writings. He abounds not in imagery, poetical or rhetorical; and calls to his aid only so much imagination as shall give shape to his logical conceptions. He enchants you with no fine metaphors, brilliant antitheses, or swelling climaxes. He is always in earnest, and goes on in his career of thought through the regions of pure intelligence. He has thus impressed his own personality upon his writings; and, through them and his various public activities, upon the mind of the Church.

Our limits do not, of course, allow our reviewing him through the varied topics of these two volumes. Nor need we say that in the great body of his utterances we accord very much with his views. But from the very fact that one of his "Fragments" is a trenchant *critique* upon a production of our own, involving extensive difference of opinion in regard to our Arminian theology, our "notice" must be, more than we could wish, controversial.

During a large share of Dr. Curry's career there are many who honestly have held the impression that he was "a Calvinist." This he has repeatedly felt called upon to deny, and has, no

doubt, with a profound sincerity, denied. The sincerity of that denial is demonstrated by the fact that he here brings together, mostly in the first of the above volumes, some of the decisive statements on which that impression has been based. His own self-exposition of his views, as here given, justifies, we think, the impression that in his theory of responsibility he is but dubiously Arminian, and that he makes concessions which weaken, if they do not knock from under, the props upon which his Arminianism rests. His wavering upon the freedom of the human will gives an apparent doubt and doubleness to all his views.

He affirms that the will is "free;" as all necessitarians do at the present day. He grounds this affirmation on our "consciousness;" and so does Prof. H. B. Smith. He affirms "a self-determining power;" and so does Dr. Shedd. He holds that the rational soul "rises above the passions, and acts by its own energy, and independently of all beyond itself; this is original volition." The younger Edwards, a rigid necessitarian, holds all that. Nay, every cause, however physical, which is a complete and sufficient cause, Edwards holds "acts by its own energy, and independently of all beyond itself." So far, we have not got beyond the most rigid necessitarianism. The question remains: Is this free causal agent limited to a solely possible result, or does he possess power for either one of the two or more alternative results? On this question—the vital question of the freedom of the will, the dividing question between Calvinism and Arminianism—Dr. Curry doubts, vibrates, and straddles. He coolly tells us (p. 19) that "The assumption of a contrary choice, always within possible reach, is only a theory invented to meet a supposed necessity." He discusses the "theory" more fully, (pp. 20, 21,) pervaded with a similar dubitation. Again, (pp. 25, 26,) it is argued that free-will does not solve the problem of sin "unless we assume that the power of free-will is wholly unconditioned and anarchical." Now, we hold that the freedom of the will is not "unconditioned," and we have endeavored in our volume on the Will, on pp. 68–75, and elsewhere, to show the "conditions and limitations of the Will's free action." And, when that analysis is completed, we hold that the solution of the problem of sin and responsibility is as complete as the solution of any other problem of theology. On many theological topics no more clear than this our respected brother is firm and positive; this, the decisive point between us and Calvinism, he selects for hesitating lips and weak knees.

On page 41 we find the following passage:

Should an automaton be endowed with consciousness and affection, it would seem to itself to act with entire freedom and from its own impulses; and yet, obviously, all its movements are the result of forces in itself that act independently of its own volitions, and by a law above the dictates of its will. The impulse determines the choice, and not contrariwise. The human consciousness may recognize the free action of the will, but it can know nothing of the impelling causes which lie beyond the range of its observations, and which may effectually control all the volitions of the will. The freedom of the will, as attested by the mind's cognizance of its own processes, may, therefore, be only formal, and, in fact, entirely necessitated.

Here is an illustration drawn from mechanics producing the conclusion that an apparent freedom of will may be only formal, and said will may, after all, be "in fact entirely necessitated." How does Dr. C. know that a conscious automaton would imagine himself to be free? If his consciousness included a Will he might wish to act counter to the controlling physical forces; and so a very cruel collision might result between Will and opposing force, rendering him terribly conscious of his slavery and misery. If Dr. C. means, however, as we suppose he does, psychological volitions in addition to the consciousness to be really substituted in the stead of the physical forces in his automaton, then we reply that we would have no longer a physical "automaton," acting under physical forces, but a volitional agent acting under motives, whose external actions are controlled by his will; and so it ceases to be an illustration by becoming an identity. For what is the use of telling us that a living conscious volitional being, controlling his own actions by his own will, would not know that he was free?* Equally nugatory is it to tell us that we cannot know causes beyond our "observations;" which, of course, we cannot. But causes we do know; the whole science of mechanics or of astronomy is built upon our known knowledge

* This argument of Dr. Curry's we have discussed, under the illustration of a "conscious watch," in our volume on "The Will," p. 365. Dr. Fisk answers Leibnitz' similar illustration drawn from a compass needle (repeatedly used by Dr. C.) in his "Calvinistic Controversy, p. 164.

And how explicitly Dr. Fisk grounds a genuine Arminianism on a genuine alternative power of the Will may appear from passages like the following:—"Both parties agree that man is a free moral agent; both maintain that he is responsible; but we maintain that what the Calvinists call free moral agency is not such in fact as is commonly understood by the term, nor such as is requisite to make man accountable. What is that power, or property, or faculty of the mind, which constitutes man a free moral agent? It is the power of choice, connected with liberty to choose either good or evil. Both the *power* and *liberty* to choose either *good* or *evil* are requisite to constitute the free agency of a probationer."—Page 149.

of causes; not, indeed, of "impelling causes" beyond our "observations," but of a sufficient amount of causes within our "range" to form a stupendous pile of sciences. Such sciences, based on a known knowledge of causes, are in formation; as physiology, meteorology, paleontology; and why not in psychology or the doctrine of the mind; or even in what we now, for the first time, call THELEMATOLOGY, or the doctrine of the Will?

Dr. Curry's whole argument against our known freedom of Will assumes that *we cannot be conscious of a power for other act than the act we perform.* That is, *we cannot be conscious of unexerted power.* But is it true that we are not conscious of unexerted volitional power? Then no volition could ever take place, for the condition to every volition is a consciousness of power for the volition, previous to the act of volition. There is consciousness, then, previous to every volition of a yet unexerted power. Demonstrably, then, there may be consciousness of unexerted power for an unperformed volition. And if power for one unperformed volition, why not for another, or for either of several volitions? See our "Will," pp. 361–369.

And all these concessions made by him to non-freedom, knock out the props from under Dr. Curry's Arminian platform. For if after all we may be responsible and punishable, yet necessitated, what matters it by what we are necessitated, whether by inward necessitating forces, or by God's external decree? And thence comes a full justification of foreordination, election and reprobation, of Calvinistic justification and infant damnation. These are all nothing more than systems of damnation for necessitated action or being.

There are pages in these volumes in which he is eloquent against Calvinism; but upon what basis? A basis undermined by the assurance that we cannot know but that we are as truly damned for not performing the impossible as the tallest Supralapsarianism asserts. Wesley and Fletcher used to assume that their Arminianism satisfactorily explained the relations between the sovereignty of God and the free-agency of man, so as fully "to justify the ways of God to man." But in Dr. Curry's pages the question is still "an insoluble mystery;" neither side duly clears it; and we are then left to ask, If both are equally in the dark, why is one side better than the other? The charge of Arminianism against Calvinism is that it fails to explain the divine rectitude; and yet Dr. C. tells us that both sides are a failure. Now our own belief coincides with that of our founders, that we have

the true doctrine as Calvinism has not, and that the divine government is clearly and truly thereby explained, so that a Christian theodicy does exist in which the rational mind may find repose. Arminianism claims to be a valid Theodicy.

Some twenty years ago (according to our fallible memory) we published in our Quarterly, by anticipation, a chapter of our then forthcoming volume on the "Will," pp. 375–389. It was entitled "Distinction between Automatic Excellence and Moral Desert." It was intended to enforce upon the mind the old-fashioned Arminian maxim that a machine, however excellent, could be approved as excellent, but not be morally deserving of reward or punishment. And by gradual approaches we passed to making it clear that a necessitated agent comes under the same category. That necessitarians would carp at our argument we expected; but that an Arminian doctor should open a fire in the rear was a small surprise. Yet our venerated Dr. C. did, in the "Ladies' Repository," make fight on that arena; and, what is more surprising still, after near twenty years of progress, and after the publication of our volume fully expounding our positions, he now republishes this disastrous document in the present volume. Upon our statement of the old fundamental Arminian position that "free self-control" is necessary to responsibility, he pronounces the verdict *not proven;* denies the authority of common sense to decide such a question, etc. In conversation, at the time, we told the writer that we thought his article unequivocally Calvinistic. We then thought it too preposterous for an answer, but upon this its unwise resurrection we must spend a few paragraphs upon it.

In this article Dr. C. first propounds the dictum, in regard to the title of our chapter, that we should not call the necessitated volitional agent *automatic*, but *autonomous*. Strange that in twenty years he should not have discovered the disastrous nature of such a verbal criticism! We have used the word *automatic* throughout our volume as an adjective for either a material or a psychological necessitated agent, and our author is alone in the world in holding such application erroneous. Thus he says, as if quoting us:

An "automaton," we are correctly informed, "is a machine whose movements are caused by forces applied;" that is, from beyond itself. But the most thorough necessitarian does not suppose this of the human will, but only that when excited to action its acts are certainly determined by its own inherent instincts and proclivities.

Now the first of these two sentences misquotes our definition of an automaton so as to give a false appearance of truth to the implication of the second sentence. Our real definition is as follows: "An automaton is a machine, constructed, sometimes in the human form, whose parts, *by force of interior springs*, are made to operate apparently like a human system, with self-motion;" and in our next sentence we specify that it is moved by "forces applied." Here the "inherent instincts and proclivities" assumed by our critic to be omitted, are fully and prominently expressed by the phrase "interior springs." He then adds: "*Autonomous* or *spontaneous* would then seem to be the proper term by which to designate the moral character in man which lies back of its volitions, and is historically antecedent to them, and, as some believe, their determining cause."

Now to mean any thing to the purpose, this must signify that *autonomous*, and not *automatic*, is the term to apply to the quality or action of an automaton, physical or psychological! But *automatic* is the very adjective form of the word *automaton*. Webster says, "The term *automatic* is now applied to self-acting machinery, or such as has within itself the power of regulating its own movements, although the moving force is derived from without." In this statement all will admit that "the power of regulating its own movements" is mechanical and fixed, not free and alternative, and hence the automatic material agent and action. But the word *autonomous* is never applied to a material mechanism, whether an automaton or any other structure, but is always applied to a free living agent, or body of living agents, for the very purpose of specializing the freedom from all external force. It is a Greek word compounded of *αυτος*, self, and *νομος*, law; and was first used to designate the cities of Greece as free and independent of any foreign force. Webster defines it, "Independent in government; having the right of self-government." When, therefore, our critic tells us that *autonomous* and not *automatic* is the word to designate the quality of an automaton, or an agent as necessitated as an automaton, he precisely reverses the truth.

Our critic next applies his dissecting knife to our proposition that in order to responsibility "common sense demands . . . free self-control." On this he commits a whole series of very flagrant mistakes. 1. He assumes that we propound this as nearly an axiomatic postulate, needing no proof; whereas it is a proposition proposed to be proved; and the whole chapter is an attempt to prove it by presenting its various phases before the tribunal of

the *common sense.* Our critic pronounces it "not proven;" and if so the chapter is a failure. 2. He faults our using the term "common sense," treating the phrase, through an unwise page or two, as unmetaphysical, as "used to cover up vacuity of thought," etc. We are, doubtless, much rebuked by all this for our incompetence in the use of due metaphysical language. And yet the phrase is the regular technic used by Reid as against Hume; and as a translation of the old *communis sensus* of the Latin it is legitimated by Sir William Hamilton as a valid metaphysical technic. It is used by Edwards, the great standard whom we were antagonizing, and the phrase in our same chapter, "universal common sense of mankind," (p. 381,) is Edwards' own phrase, intended by us as a quotation from him, and a few lines lower is marked with quotation points. At any rate, these last phrases ought to have shown our critic that we used the term as a proper authorized technic, not at all affected by its popular use, which is really based upon the original metaphysical term. The *sensus communis* is that universal sensus, common to all mankind, by which self-evidence is universally recognized. Our use of the word is further verified by the fact that in our volume (pp. 398–400) we bring the same proposition before the "intuitions," and endeavor to show both that the intuitions do affirm it, and that their affirmation is conclusive. And, finally and conclusively, the phrase is used by the very highest authority in the present debate, namely, by Dr. Curry himself, in the very first line of the volume containing this criticism, as a designation of the final court of appeal in metaphysical discussion. The very first line in his book is this: "The common sense of mankind has always and every-where recognized," etc. 3. Our author rejects the maxim that in order to moral responsibility "common sense demands free self-control." Now Calvinism bases its whole moral defense on this non-concession of that maxim. Grant that non-concession and an act or state may be necessitated, eternally pre-decreed, and yet be responsible. God may decree the sin and damn the sinner. Now can our respected brother wonder or complain if thousands of us are compelled to feel that he writes, speaks, and thinks Calvinism? Yet on page 201 he tells us that since "the interior will is alone capable of acting in view of moral obligation, sin can be predicated of only the reason in its volitionary action—that is of the will." And (p. 195) of this "volitionary" reason he tells us that it "rises above the passions and acts by its own energy, and independently of all beyond itself; this is original volition." Now, putting these two state-

ments together, the predicability of sin requires the volitionary action of the will; and that volitionary action, or original volition, "acts independently of all beyond itself." In other words, sin can be imputed to nothing but a volition independent of every thing but itself. And yet he denies that "in order to moral responsibility there must be free self-control." If his phrase "independently of all beyond itself" is equivalent to "free self-control," then here is the most categorical contradiction. If not, then, clearly, the agent is at once independent of all control both outside and inside of itself! It is independent of every thing else, and yet has no "free self-control." And here is that quavering between Arminianism and its opposite, with which Dr. C. has for years confounded his friends.

He next imputes to us "a damaging want of distinction" because in our chapter we did not adopt his "two things" which he calls TWO WILLS; namely, "an external will" or "a surface will," and also "an internal will." This theory of *two wills* in the human soul he professedly adopts from Coleridge, and we venture to believe that nobody but the great opium-eater and Dr. C. ever held it. Of these *two wills*, the former or external will "consists in an action of the mind," "is commonly called *choosing*," and is "only choice-making;" while the latter is the will-power. On this we have to remark that this junction of said *two wills* is a false co-ordination. It is like saying that as we have the power of sight and the action of sight we have *two sights*, an external or surface sight and an internal or potential sight. This co-ordination of sight is purely verbal, arising from the fact that our language has unfortunately designated the faculty and the act of the faculty by the same vocable. So we might extend the term head to include the stomach, and thereby be enabled to say that we had *two heads*, a *cephalic* head and a *gastric* head. We have in our legs the power to "walk," and we perform a "walk," and so we have *two walks*. But the most extraordinary part of this criticism is that the writer really imagines that by our own word Will we really mean not the will-power, but the will-ing act. Most assuredly in so misconstruing our language he must of all our readers stand alone—"wrapt in the solitude of his own originality." On the very first page of our volume we declare, "The Will is the volitional power." We divide the trinality of the soul into intellect, sentiency, and will; one will and not two; three generic powers and not four. On page 26 we specially note the clumsy ambiguity of the application of the term Will to the *action* of the Will. To expose this ambiguity we frame

this sentence: "The will will will a will;" and in this sentence the first *will* and the last *will* are our critic's *two wills*. We framed the sentence in order to banish the latter use of the word from the language, and to secure our unequivocality we spell the noun Will throughout our volume with an initial capital. And now we confess that we shrink into utter discouragement and despair at being at last told by an eminent metaphysician in this year, 1880, that by Will we do not mean Will but the "action" of the Will.*

Our learned critic next takes issue with a statement imputed by him to us, and thus printed by him, as ours, in quotation marks: "The common sense of mankind recognizes morality in VOLITION alone." And on this he comments thus: "Volition is not the will itself, but an act of the will; and 'morality'—that is, moral properties—can properly be predicated, according to this theory, not of persons, nor of their characters, but only of their volitions. In *himself* Judas was no worse than his Master, only his volitions were worse; and when both were asleep, because their volitions had ceased, there was no more 'morality' about the one than the other."

Now it is with deep regret we say that the words above adduced by Dr. Curry, and marked as ours, are a false quotation; being falsified by omission of words essential to the real meaning. And, what is worse, the validity of his criticism is attained by the cutting out of words which, if retained, would have neutralized it. His criticism is valid only by scissors. Our words were, (the omitted words being italicized:) "The common sense of mankind recognizes morality *primarily* in volition [not capitalized in the original] alone, and not in mere perception, because it recognizes in volition alone non-necessitation." By his striking out *primarily* we are made to say what we neither say nor believe, namely: that morality is recognized in volition alone, *unqualifiedly;* whereas we imply a qualification by the *primarily* which we soon expand and explain *secondarily* on a following page, which we shall soon quote. The words *and not in perception alone* are carved out, so as to shut off the fact that morality is by us ascribed to

* We are not sure that we rightly understand Dr. C. in attributing to him belief in a will-faculty. His fullest exposition of Will that we find is on pp. 193, 194, arriving at this conclusion: "To the soul thus revealed by its own exercises, in the dialect of philosophy, is given the name of WILL." But we suppose that this means "the soul," as endowed with the *power of volition*, the will-faculty. So that the will is the *ego* in volitionating. This is the only sense in which we use the word Will. See our "Will," p. 22.

the volitions alone, not in distinction from the "person" or "character," but in distinction from the other faculties. And the detruncation of the last member of the sentence shuts off the fact that the direct object of the sentence is not to show where the morality lies, but to show that it is the non-necessitation of the volition which renders it the subject of morality rather than the other faculties. And so, by use of scissors, we are monstrously made to teach that a man's bad volitions do not demoralize or inculpate his character! The inferences next drawn in his comment which follows from such an assumption are carefully moderate. Such an assumption would teach that Judas was as good as Jesus not only "when asleep," but when awake. The crucifiers on Calvary, in the very act, would be as good as He the Crucified; for neither their bad volitions nor his good ones would render them any worse or him any better. Is it possible for any man to believe that we teach such a monstrosity? Universally when men speak of a guilty act, an immoral volition, they mean that the free-agent himself is guilty and his character immoral.

But after this *primarily* in our chapter there follows (p. 387) a *secondarily*, in which it is subsidiarily shown that morality inheres not in "volitions alone," but to other psychological parts. The volitions may so modify "the intellections, emotions, and desires," as that they become responsible, for good or evil, and so the man "would be volitionally and morally responsible." The responsibility is expressly predicated of the man, since the volitions are truly the man himself in action. We add: "Even his automatic faculties would thence derive a sort of secondary responsible character." And we further add (as if to preclude all excuse for overlooking our words) *in italics:* "It is thus that a man's *sensibilities, intellections, emotions, and beliefs become secondarily and consequentially responsible.*" When thus we see how it is, by cutting out and cutting off our words and sentences in this short chapter, that our critic makes a case against us, our readers may conclude that he handles a very dexterous, if not very scrupulous, pair of scissors.

But Dr. Curry's maintenance of the most explicit basal justification of necessitarian fatalism occurs on p. 223: "Moral worth is itself the ground of merit, regardless of the genesis of that characteristic of the soul." This maxim is, indeed, attributed by him to "many persons generally supposed to possess that characteristic of rationality," common sense. But he states it as a counter-position to ours, and as agreeable to what he calls *his* "very dull sense." The maxim means, if it means any thing to

the purpose, that "merit," desert, responsibility, punishability, may justly exist in or upon any agent who is bad, regardless of the genesis of that badness, whether he became freely so by his own will, or by creation, birth, forced infusion, necessitated nature, or divine decree.

It means that God may make a man bad, and then damn him for being the bad he has made him. It means that an infant may be born bad, and damned for the badness in which he is born. And Dr. Curry's maxim is the very fundamental maxim on which Edwards bases his entire defense of the rightfulness of necessitated responsibility and punishability. To this maxim as stated by Edwards, pages 402–408 of our "Will" are a reply. We there quote the maxim as stated by Chalmers: "How the disposition got there is not the question, etc. It is enough . . . that the disposition is there." Edwards' form is: "The viciousness of an act of Will lies not in its cause, but in its own intrinsic nature." Hence it makes no difference as to responsibility whether it was necessitated or not. Our counter maxim is, that power to avoid the act is necessary to the merit or demerit of the act. Responsibility cannot be "regardless of genesis."

Again, Dr. Curry denies that there may be irresponsible wrong character or badness. Thus

> If man is born with a moral character, of which one may correctly predicate such epithets as "wrong, sinful, depraved;" and if, as the result of this bad inheritance, he suffers many disadvantages, both temporal and spiritual, as confessedly he does, there does surely seem to be a kind of responsibility for that which we are told "is no *fault* of his own till fully appropriated by the act of his own free will." Could I trust my own apprehensions in these deep things I should suspect that the learned essayist is not entirely self-consistent. How there can be all forms and relations of sin without "just moral condemnality," is indeed beyond my powers of conception. If there are moral qualities and relations they must be judged by the divine law, and if there is found in them no cause of condemnation they must be approved; and so the law must approve of "disconformity to the law."

That is, however, caused, created, born, shaped, or necessitated, the evil quality is responsible and punishable. No power otherwise in the being, no alternative will, is necessary. We will here only say that as Dr. C. has publicly, and no doubt sincerely, rejoiced in and boasted of being the pupil of Dr. Wilbur Fisk, we quote Dr. Fisk's own language on that point:

> We believe that the merits of the atonement are so available for and in behalf of the whole human family, that the guilt of depravity *is not imputed to the subject* of it until, by intelligent volition, he makes the guilt his own by resisting and rejecting the grace of the Gospel.

And again:

> If the Creator should give existence to an intelligent being, and infuse into his created nature the elements of unrighteousness, and give to his faculties an irresistible bias to sin, and all this without providing a remedy, or a way for escape, then, indeed, all our notions of justice would decide that *such a being ought not to be held responsible.* But this is not the case with any of the sinful beings of God's moral government. Not of the fallen angels, for they had original power to stand, but abused it and fell; not of fallen man, for in the first place his is not a created depravity; but, in the case of Adam, it was contracted by voluntary transgression when he had power to stand; and in case of his posterity, it is derived and propagated in the ordinary course of generation; and in the second place, a remedy is provided which meets the exigencies of man's moral condition, at the very commencement of his being. This it does by graciously preventing imputation of guilt until man is capable of an intelligent survey of his moral condition. . . . And when man becomes capable of moral action, this same gracious remedy is suited to remove his native depravity, and to justify him from the guilt of actual transgression. . . . If the character and conduct of a being are not *now* and never *have been* avoidable, then, indeed, he ought not to have guilt imputed to him.

And this last extract may show our good doctor how persistently he misunderstands the doctrine of both Dr. F. and our chapter and book. We do not affirm that the badness is "approved" either by God or the law; we say that it is not held RESPONSIBLE. Our whole chapter by its very title and argument tries to show that the purely "automatic" excludes "desert," that is of penalty or just reward. And this, the very fundamental distinction, Dr. Curry ignores, blurs, and blunders over, sometimes assuming that we do not admit the automatic to be proper subject, as we constantly affirm it is, of love and admiration, and at other times himself maintaining that the "automatic" is justly responsible; which is necessitarian Calvinism. A watch or a living agent, we maintain, may be even *ethically* admired, (for a true watch tells the truth,) approved and petted; but has no moral "desert," is not responsible, cannot be rewarded or punished; and that simple truth, the very A B C of Arminian theology, Dr. Curry professes that he cannot understand.

And now, in conclusion, we cannot but most earnestly counsel the author in future editions to strike this chapter from this book; a chapter which increases neither the value of the volume nor the reputation of its author.

And this, our notice, is written in kindly personal feeling toward our friend of long years, for the purposes, *first*, of making clear to him why many of his best friends have entertained those impressions of which he publicly complains, that he "leaned too much to Calvinism;" and, *second*, to guard our Wesleyan-Arminianism from being held to be truly represented in Dr. Curry's two volumes, in consequence of their being published at our two houses.

The Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religion of Ancient Egypt. By P. Le Page Renouf. [The Hibbert Lectures for 1879.] Small 12mo., pp. 270. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880. $1 50.

The Hibbert Lectures were established for the purpose of enabling the "Broad Church," of the School of Max Müller, Dean Stanley, and Renouf, to give their expositions to the public. The central principle of this school is implied in the above title of the book, which assumes that religion is a natural "growth" of the human mind, rather springing up from the depths of our nature than coming down from God to our receptive will. With these thinkers all religion is natural religion; yet for that reason in its vital elements truly authentic; and, in fact, as implanted by the divinity in our nature, indirectly divinely derived. This is the religion of Intuitionalism, deriving its principles from the intuitions of our race as studied in the intellective and moral phases of human history and in the depths of our individual consciousness. The leaders of this school are men of genius, research, and earnest aspiration after truth. For the Christian student their works are worthy of discriminating study. They adopt Christianity, indeed, only as far forth as that religion comes within the range of their intuitionality. And we so far accord with them as to affirm that whatever dogma can be brought into absolute contradiction with the intuitive and axiomatic truth must be false. Revelation may disclose truths which our intuitive faculties could never discover, but can never authenticate doctrines which our intuitions positively contradict.

The present volume consists of six chapters. The first chapter gives a very interesting popular history of the discovery of the true nature of the Egyptian inscriptions by the genius of Champollion, and the investigations and disclosures made by a faithful school of followers. The second chapter essays to verify the correctness and general reliability of the antiquity of Egyptian civilization as recorded on the monuments and papyri. The third pictures to us the gods of Egypt as many, yet One. The fourth gives the Egyptians' various views of their relations and intercourses with the unseen world, by apparitions, dreams, possession, etc. The last two discuss the great Egyptian *Bible*, "The Book of the Dead," and other sacred records, with the doctrines they reveal. The whole work is written in a lucid and popular style, and, whatever we may think of some of its *dicta* given as conclusions, its facts and premises are full of interest to the Christian biblicist and theologian.

If human religions are a "growth," the example of Egypt sug-

gests that it is a growth *downward*. It passes through the three stages described by Hardwick in his "Christ and other Masters;" beginning with a clear personal monotheism, it dims away into pantheism, and then breaks up into polytheism. This agrees with Paul's view in the first chapter of Romans, based on the Genesis history. Indeed, the whole history of ancient Egyptian civilization is, so far as it goes, a protest against the doctrine of ascending evolution. The purest monotheism, the most magnificent pyramid, the richest art, are all at the origin. They all start with startling suddenness. We are, indeed, told that *there must have been* ages of development preceding; but when we ask our evolutionist how he knows, his only reply is, Because *evolutionism requires it*. So "ride and tie," the evolution proves the fact, and the fact proves the evolution. How is it that the art which could build the tallest pyramid could show no record of those anterior ages? On the contrary, this Egyptian history, so much more veracious than Moses, gives a line of gods immediately preceding many thousand years in length, fastening on to the rear of Menes, like a long tail. Of course it is very unscientific in us to declare that we have just as much faith in the said tail as we have in Menes himself.

A most remarkable document certainly is that Egyptian Bible called the Book of the Dead. Renouf fluently tells us that it is thousands of years older than the Pentateuch. And it very possibly may be some centuries older than some parts of the Pentateuch. But, as our readers may remember, we have ever favored the hypothesis that the earliest chapters of Genesis were ancient documents brought from Chaldea by Abraham. And this hypothesis has been wonderfully confirmed by George Smith's revelations from the Assyrian tablets. The cosmogony of Genesis in rude outline there found, together with its total absence from all Egyptian records, indicates that it is an Abrahamic, Shemitic, Noahic, Adamic document. We reject, therefore, as proofless and truthless, Renouf's story that the Book of the Dead is the oldest of Bibles, and we hold it younger than the first ten chapters of Genesis.

The theology and mythology of Egypt, as revealed by the record, were wonderful for their ingenuity, vastness, and variety. Their monotheism, though richly and powerfully expressed, has a pantheistic phase, even though holding the divine Personality. And there is also what Max Müller endows with the awkward name of "Henotheism;" namely, either one of several gods is addressed or celebrated as if he were the Supreme, yet no way

contradicting the supremacy of the others. One God is selected by name as sole God, yet really taking in all the other gods by inclusion. The other gods may be merely common names for the One, or each one may be viewed as a personality projecting from the common ocean of divinity. Monotheism thereby easily passes into polytheism. And this degeneracy is wonderfully aided by pantheism, which views men and animals as mere forms emerging from the one living All. By this route transition is easily made through animal deification to the lowest fetichism, and that transition unhappy Egypt made. Renouf abundantly shows that Egyptian degeneracy into fetichism was slow, but regular and final. Strong proof that fetichism and savageism are not the state of primitive man but of primitive man's far-off degenerate posterity.

And herein we discover how sweeping and truly puritan a reformer was Moses. He knew all the science, history, and mythology of Egypt, yet sternly rejected its luxuriances. With his people, who possessed the true Abrahamic-Adamic document and tradition, he preferred primitive truth. He reduced the false Egyptian chronology, with its Menes, and his long tail of heroes, demi-gods, and gods, to a modest figure. He swept away the whole menagerie of Egyptian mythology clean, and fell back upon the true Jehovah. The first two *dicta* of the decalogue consigned the fetiches to everlasting abhorrence. Nay, he flung into the background the vision of the future state on which "The Book of the Dead" is wildly copious and phantasmagoric, and required Israel to trust that in unity with Jehovah all would be forever well. He then established a ritual in which Egypt's animal gods were slaughtered as sinful victims, sin itself was shadowily expiated, and the Messiah of the future was typified. Thus was the tradition of Eden restored, and the future dispensation of Christ inaugurated.

The Life and Work of St. Paul. By F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S. 12mo., pp. 781. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co. 1880.

Canon Farrar's Life of Christ has found very large audience in America both with scholars and the people. His Paul has, of course, a lesser subject and probably a lesser body of readers, but to those who feel inspired by his vivid style and rich erudition the book will be invaluable. It deals less than Conybeare and Howson with geographical picture and external circumstantials, and seeks to give a clearer view of the intellectual position and doings of St. Paul, and to reproduce the moral battles which the great

apostle fought with the errors of his age. To this end, besides a most thorough research in Paul's writings, aided by the rich apparatus of modern criticism, he brings to his aid a deep study of Jewish literature. He then seeks truly and vividly to present to us the true historic, intellectual, and spiritual *life* of St. Paul. He traces the events of his history, and endeavors to analyze and unfold his doctrines. The work, thereby, becomes a fresh commentary upon a large part of the New Testament.

Following the biography is an Appendix containing twenty-nine dissertations upon topics closely belonging to the subject, yet liable to interrupt the narrative if inserted in the body of the work. These are a rich treasury for the lovers of biblical discussion. On most of his topics we can easily agree with his conclusions. But we cannot agree that Paul would call weak eyes "a stake in the flesh." We think the Canon's analysis of Paul's theology, in the ninth of Romans, a failure. The external execution of the work is handsome. It is furnished with full index and beautiful maps.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The Theory of Thought. A Treatise on Deductive Logic. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

This work, by Professor Noah K. Davis, of the University of Virginia, is an exhaustive presentation of formal logic. It does not claim to add any thing, but only to expound and illustrate. The objections to which it is open belong mainly to the standpoint rather than to the execution of the work. If the old formal logic is to be taught, we know of no better work than this. At the same time we regard the bulk of formal logic as made up of useless refinements, which are not of the least value to thought.

In laying down the primary laws of thought, Professor Davis falls into the customary looseness of the writers on this subject. They are given as the laws of identity, contradiction, and excluded middle. Of these the second is an implication of the first; and the third is not a distinct law of thought at all. To think demands something to think about; hence the first act of thought is one of position; and hence the first law of thought is A=A, or every thought must have a fixed content. But this act of position excludes all that is incompatible with it, and hence it excludes A=non A, for this would cancel the act. The law of contradiction is but the other side of the law of identity.

Both are given in the same act, and are not distinct laws. The law of the excluded middle properly applies only to the division of a notion, and implies that the members of the disjunction shall make up on the whole concept. The formula, All being is either A or non A, is something totally unknown except to logicians. Privative or negative notions are not properly notions at all. What is meant by such a formula is better stated thus: Of any given subject, any definite predicate either holds or it does not. But this is no separate law, but only a consequence of the laws of identity and contradiction. The possibility of dividing the thinkable into two contradictory notions, A and non A, is an unimportant consequence, and not a law.

In giving the law of identity, Professor Davis formulates it thus: $A = A$, or $A = a' + a'' + a''' \ldots$ and illustrates it by various mathematical equations. The last form implies more than the law of identity warrants. That law affirms only the equality of an object with itself; that it can be put equal to something else does not lie in the law. Even in mathematics Kant showed that the law of identity is not the only law; and long ago the Megarics showed that the principle of identity alone would bring thought to a stand-still. The law of identity is only the negative condition of thinking; there must be some positive principle if thought is to move at all. This fact is not noticed by Professor Davis. Although he treats of the laws of thought, there could be no thinking if thought had no other laws than those he mentions.

In treating of the extension and intension of notions, the author holds the ordinary doctrine that they vary inversely. But this is far enough from being the case. The doctrine assumes that a notion is merely the sum of its marks, and that marks can be added and subtracted at pleasure. Often, however, a notion is such a function of its marks that to remove one would cancel all. This is the case with natural species. The intension of any natural class is independent entirely of its extension. The marks which make up the notion horse, or man, are independent of the number of individuals. The asserted inverse relation holds only of artificial notions which we make for our convenience. The traditions have influenced the author too much at this point. The author's further claim that the singular is richer in content than the universal is equally short-sighted. The concept triangle is as rich in content as any real triangle. It includes area, three-sidedness, and triangularity. The difference is, that in the universal the

marks are left general, while, in the particular, definite rules are substituted for them. In this respect the universal is like an algebraic formula. This contains all the quantities; and is applied to a particular case not by increasing the quantities, but by giving them specific values.

Of course, the whole mechanism of figure, mood, and reduction is given at length. *Barbara, celarent*, etc., are reproduced, and the superiority of the first figure is duly extolled. This implies, of course, a rejection of the quantification of the predicate. On this point we differ entirely from the author. We view the machinery of reduction as being as thoughtless as the words which are employed to represent it. We further hold that every logical judgment is, when its implications are expressed, an equation of subject and predicate. We always say more or less than we think; but as logic has only to do with thought, its forms must regard the meaning and not the expression. But while we hold that all judgments are equations, we do not think it worth while to construct an elaborate table of all possible forms. This is only a piece of formalism which teaches nothing and leads to nothing. The same judgment we extend to the doctrine of figure and reduction. The author adds a criticism of innovations on the old logic, and rejects Hamilton's modifications. This is the only part of the work which displays any critical power. For the rest it is a reproduction of the traditions.

B.

The Perception of Space and Matter. By Rev. Johnston Estes Walter. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. 1879.

The critical part of Mr. Walter's work is better than the constructive. The criticism of Reid, Hamilton, Bain, and Spencer is good, although here the range is narrow. The Kantian theory of space and perception is unnoticed, except in the most casual manner; and yet it is one of the chief theories in philosophy. Mr. Walter discusses the perception of space by itself, and leaves the perception of matter for separate treatment. He seems to think that an unextended being cannot perceive space, and he also seems to think that to admit the extension of the soul would remove the difficulties under which other theories labor. Both of these views are difficult of acceptance. The first one confounds the content of a thought with the thought itself. If the thought of extension must itself be extended, then the mind would require a certain bulk in which to hold it; but if the thought of the extended is no more extended than the thought of the sour is itself

sour, it is hard to see what need there is for an extended soul in order to cognize extension. Besides, if the extension of the soul were allowed, the imagination might be helped, but the problem would not be solved. The difficulty is to get a knowledge of extension in unextended thought, and this is not removed in the least by supposing the soul to have a cubical content. The existence of a thing as extended is never a sufficient account of our perception of it as extended. Sooner or later the extended thing must disappear in unextended thought; and the assumption that the soul is extended in no way removes this necessity, unless, indeed, we should descend to the crudity of holding that thoughts are spatially related in the mind like blocks in a box. Again, Mr. Walter seems to fancy that the only antithesis to an extended soul is a punctual soul. But this is to deny space spatially. The third possibility remains open, that the soul is non-spatial, just as thought is non-spatial. Kant held that space is only a form of intuition, and no ontological fact. It is valid, then, only for appearances, and has no meaning when applied to the realities behind them. This possibility was at least worthy of mention. Finally, the spatial-soul view would in no way account for our perception of space as one. This objection applies to all those theories which hold that the original perception of objects as extended is sufficient to explain the unity of our space-intuition. The perception of things as extended no more implies that they are all in a common space, than the perception of extended objects in dreams implies that the space of dreams is one. The chapter on the True Nature and Process of the Perception of Matter is by no means so impregnable to idealism as we could wish. The author has taken the common sense view for granted. If he had allowed that this might be false, he would have felt the insufficiency of his arguments. B.

Chapters from the Physical History of the Earth. By Arthur Nicoles, F. G. S. 12mo., pp. 281. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

As this book is not a symmetrical treatise, but only "chapters," it is not fitted for a class-book. Six of the chapters are devoted to Geology and thirteen to Paleontology. The former are written for the latter, and the latter are intended to commend Darwinism to our belief. This is done in a fluent but superficial manner, entirely ignoring the grave difficulties that lie in the way of that theory. For instance, he quotes conspicuously Sir Charles Lyell's first statement of his conversion to the geologic

man, in apparent ignorance that not only in the opinion of Dr. Winchell, but by confession of Professor Huxley, the grounds upon which Lyell was converted have been entirely invalidated since that day.

Mr. Nicoles also quotes, as very conclusive proof of man's descent from brute, the statement of Huxley, that the distance between the lowest man and highest ape is only equal to the distance between the highest and lowest ape. However true anatomically, that statement possesses little psychological validity. Let us suppose that the Bushman should be educated from infancy, morally, religiously, intellectually, in the most perfect manner, and with ample inducements to proficiency through three generations. And suppose also that the highest ape should be similarly trained through three generations. There can be little rational doubt that the Bushman will have proved himself an expansible man, and the ape would still stay an unimprovable ape. And that simply because one is an unchangeable man and the other an unchangeable monkey.

So worse than worthless on the whole is the book, that one may query why it was ever published; and still more why it has been republished in America.

The Science of Logic. By Rev. T. J. Scott, M.A., D.D. Lucknow. 1880.

This little work is printed in both English and Hindustani by the American Mission Press in Lucknow. It is a short treatise on formal logic, very clearly and simply written. The same general objections apply to it which we have elsewhere made to Professor Davis' work. B.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Life and Letters of Horace Bushnell. 8vo., pp. 579. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Near six hundred pages of large octavo, large print, written over in fascinating style by several different hands, are not too much for a man like Horace Bushnell. He was born in 1802, and died in 1876. The only full conversation we ever had with him was in the early manhood of us both, in our college room at Middletown, soon after his "settlement" at Hartford. We were then intently studying Edwards, and were delighted as well as surprised to find that he, a supposed "Calvinist," rejected the necessitarianism of

the great fatalist. He had studied Coleridge, and received from him an elevation above the low grounds of "the understanding" into the upper region of "the reason," and was thereby enabled to say, On the grounds of logical understanding Edwards cannot be refuted; but in the light of the pure reason he is invalid; and the ground of his mistake is that he tries a transcendent problem by a sense logic. All of which seemed satisfactory to him, but not, either then or now, to our own mind.

At this time there was about him an air of personal independence, which, blended, nevertheless, with a certain pleasantry, was colloquially attractive, but which gave a degree of coldness to his manner of public address. The Puritan and the latitudinarian seemed blended in him. Both his Coleridgeanism and his personal independency raised him into a region where orthodoxy did not hold imperative sway. His publications, written from the inspirations of that upper air, produced no little commotion among his Congregational brethren, who abode in the low flat-lands of "understanding" and orthodoxy. In that controversy, which for a while held the Congregational ban over his head, we Methodists took no stock. We had occupancies enough of our own. We appreciatively measured the nobleness of Mr. Bushnell's intellect, but we lent no study to his speculations.

Mr. Bushnell's cashiering of Calvinism, in spite of his office in a Calvinistic Church, was somewhat hereditary. His grandmother, as he tells us in a very interesting narrative, was released from her Calvinistic bondage by the gospel of early Methodism, and, with a truer independence than her noble grandson, became a professed and consistent Methodist. In her rural hamlet she started Methodist meetings, having, as a part of the exercises, sermons read by a young man of the place. In due time it was given her to tell that young man that it was his duty to be a Methodist preacher. On his telling her that he had never been converted, she told him that then so much the more was to be done; he must first become a Christian, and then a preacher. He obeyed both calls. "And thus began the public story of the great Bishop Hedding, one of the most talented and grandly executive men of the Methodist Episcopal Church—led into his work and office, we may say, by the counsel and prayers of his woman-bishop guide."

It is remarkable that his launch into transcendental semi-heresy was preceded by a "crisis" of religious experience. Not, it would appear, from any study of Wesleyan authors, but from Upham, Madame Guyon, and Fénelon, he was enabled to emerge into "a higher, fuller life." "It came to him, at last, after all his

thought and study, not as something reasoned out, but as an inspiration—a revelation from the mind of God himself." This was in 1848; and even as late as 1871 he referred to it. "I seemed to pass a boundary. I had never been very legal in my Christian life, but now I passed from those partial seeings, glimpses, and doubts, into a clearer knowledge of God, and into his inspirations, which I have never wholly lost. The change was into faith—a sense of the freeness of God, and the ease of approach to him."

"His own statement, made elsewhere, of the nature of faith, gives a deeper insight into his meaning. 'Christian faith,' as he says, 'is the faith of a transaction.'"

Notwithstanding the Arminian strand in his pedigree, and his creed, and his "higher life," there was no interchange of sympathies between Bushnell and Methodism. His transcendental yearnings were toward the Unitarians, whom he sought to win, by what some thought compromise, to a recognition of "God in Christ," and a full experience of God in the soul. He saw them standing on the low grounds of naturalism, and he sought to induce them to feel that an evangelical spiritualism is the deepest of all realities. It would seem that this overture he was divinely permitted to make to them; but in vain. They are still there. Most of them prefer the auroral ice-beams of Emerson and his fellows, wandering children of the cold twilight, to whose owl-eyed vision night is day and day is night.

The Life and Work of William Augustus Mühlenberg. By ANNE AYRES. 8vo., pp. 524. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

A Dutchman by descent, a Quaker by parental origin, a Churchman by choice, Mühlenberg, from an early Pennsylvanian, became a permanent and final New Yorker. In New York his monument is the St. Luke's Hospital; throughout the English-singing world he is known as the author of the hymn, "I would not live alway."

Dr. Mühlenberg was ritualistic, but not high-church. He was ritualistic from esthetic preference, loving to be devout under antique symbolic forms; low-church because he had no faith in a divinely organized successional episcopate. He was in the high career of ritualistic advancement when the publication of the Oxford Tracts unveiled the real nature of the movement, and brought him to a pause and a protest. He took a trip to England, held converse with Pusey and Newman, but retired to a Wesleyan chapel for his best spiritual food. The gentle sar-

casms with which, while staying in a high-Church, he could satirize high-churchery, are admirable for their blend of amenity, wit, and wisdom. Having himself decreed that no unchurchly man should offer prayer in his hospital, when a frightened nurse announced to him that an intrusive Methodist preacher was perpetrating a prayer, he replied, "Go and stop him immediately, before his prayer reaches heaven." We can hardly approve his irritability at finding his magnificent hymn his great title to world-wide fame, nor his injudicious attempt at its reconstruction. When Dr. Cummins seceded from "the Church," it was hoped by many that Dr. Mühlenberg would join the exodus, but he condemned it as "a multiplication of sects." Yet that secession is far more likely to check the spirit of towering Churchmanship, both in England and America, than any protest within its fold could have done.

The Life of William Ellery Channing, D.D. The Centenary Memorial Edition. By his nephew, WILLIAM HENRY CHANNING. 8vo., pp. 719. American Unitarian Association, 1880.

Passing from such characters as Bushnell and Mühlenberg, we come to one who is announced as "the morning-star of a better day for man." A centennial celebration proclaims that his birth was an epoch. A broader European fame places him in an upper atmosphere; and we are called, as it were, to use an astronomic apparatus to ascertain, if we can, the elevation and magnitude of this bright luminary. And we can say that whether his altitude and magnitude are overestimated or not, he beams with a very serene luster, and we have for long years gazed with a tranquil pleasure upon his aspect.

His biographer has wisely done in making Channing, as far as possible, his own biographer. His was emphatically the life of a soul, with very little event. Soon after his brilliant graduation at Harvard he commenced preaching, and attracted, by his marked ability, a call from the Federal-street Church, Boston, of which he became life-long pastor. A brief trip to Europe, where affinity caused an interview with Wordsworth and with Coleridge, on both whom he left a marked impression, was the largest event in his career. Yet his mental development, as shown by the copious forthpourings of his pen in the present volume, is replete with interest.

Possessed of rare genius, a gentle yet heroic spirit, the two strong points about him were his optimism and his individualism. His optimistic spirit rejected all that was stern in the prevalent theology, whether in the divine character, in human nature, or in

the constitution of things. His writings are a beautiful antidote to pessimism. God was to him concrete living goodness; man was a being of marvelous nobleness; and the severity in nature and the sin and misery in the world were the necessary conditions of a probation whereby the heroic is possible and perfection a future result. His individualistic views, if they did not grow out of his optimism, were admirably consistent with it. If man is a transcendently noble being it is a frightful monstrosity for him to be, either mentally or physically, a slave. His noble single nature must ever assert itself, emancipating itself from all servility to the despotism of others or the enthrallment of ignoble influences. He must be free from the influence of tradition, of sect, of party. Each single man, aspiring after the highest possibilities of his own noble nature, must think and speak in perfect independence, furnishing his own contribution to the reason of the whole race. The same individualism rendered him averse to the mysteries of a creed. The trinity he rejected, not so much as a mystery as a contradiction in terms, the very formula which expressed it being a self-contradiction, and therefore a nothing.

In his theology the three greatest words were GOD, IMMORTALITY, and PERFECTION. These were the three great primary assumptions. Under a divine goodness man is destined to an eternal progress, of which a perpetual perfecting is the result. As to future retribution the Scriptures, which he fully accepted as a revelation, were to him not clear and decisive; but it was a happy condition, he thought, for a being to be embraced in the future destinies of the race. In our perfecting progress we are aided by the Spirit of God; and Christ is our transcendent example, teacher, and thereby redeemer from sin and its consequences. Christ's character is the exhibited perfection at which we aim. It is truly and historically a miracle; and all his miracles, as narrated by the evangelists, are truly consonant with his character, and so not only credible, but required.

From his ultra individualism, Channing was "opposed to Methodism." It was too organic, too despotic. In this respect Channing was the contrast of Wesley to his own disparagement. Wesley was a great organizer, Channing a disintegrator. Wesley would marshal men into a great enginery for bringing about stupendous beneficent reforms and advancements. Channing would reduce all the race to individual elements, in hope that its noble individualities might somehow spontaneously harmonize into an ultimate general perfection. His method is not God's

method. God organizes dispensations. He formed an Old Testament Church of most organic shape. Christ founded a New Testament Church, with institutions and rulers, to be a collective agency in the world. Hence Wesley's name is now a far greater power than Channing's. It is mentioned a hundred times to Channing's once. Channing has, for instance, an influence like that of Byron, as a fascinating spell, but without actuating energy. Channing has had one centennial in honor of his birth; Wesley has had a dozen centennials commemorative of his work. Channing's influence floats like a beautiful thin vapor in the atmosphere; Wesley's is like the steam condensed into a force that moves an enginery that moves the world. Each is great in his own way, but there is little equality in the volume and vastness of the power that has gone out from them.

Liberia: Its Origin, Rise, Progress, and Results. An Address delivered before the American Colonization Society, January 20, 1880, by Hon. JOHN B. LATROBE. 12mo., paper cover, pp. 11. Washington City: Colonization Building, 450 Pennsylvania Avenue. 1880.

The Exodus: Its Effect upon the People of the South. Colored Labor not Indispensable. An Address delivered before the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society, January 21, 1880, by Rev. C. K. MARSHALL, D.D., of Vicksburgh, Mississippi. Published by Request. Washington City: Colonization Building, 450 Pennsylvania Avenue. 1880.

The resumption of virtual existence and of operations by the Colonization Society from its paralysis under the blows of Garrison and his followers, followed by the war, calls for a new exposition of its history, purposes, and plans of operations. The history here is ably but concisely given by President Latrobe, and its origin, character, and achievements are shown to be worthy of all respect and approval. The attack by Garrison upon the society was one of his fanaticisms, followed by an equal fanaticism on the part of the spokesmen for the society in allowing it to become a stronghold of not only anti-Garrisonism, but of something very much like pro-slaveryism. It thereby gave Garrison the victory, and sunk from public confidence. From the beginning, Garrison's attacks were valid, not from the true organic purpose of the society itself as a machine for giving the negroes a chance for emigration when they desired, but from the unnecessary oppressive language of the advocates of the society against the negro. Speeches showing the incapacities of the negro, his incapability of rising to respect or position, collided against the largest liberality of our Christianity and hopes for mankind. They were seen to create the very race prejudice on which the argument was built. Even

when uttered by philanthropists, in the spirit of commiseration, their obvious effect was to intensify the spirit of color-caste, and give to the foot that trampled upon an oppressed race the sanction of piety and benevolence. Garrison and his co-operators had not the mental discrimination to see that while the *sentiments* were deleterious, the real *organic purpose* of the society was benign, and that while he protested against the former, he should have given all aid to the latter. And then he might have made the society not his foe, but his auxiliary. And now, near half a century later, Oliver Johnson, in his late history of that day, shows himself not emancipated from the same mental and moral fallacy. He repeats the folly as if the fibers of his cerebrum had become fixedly shaped to the permanent error.

Nor have the advocates of the society grown more wise. Dr. Marshall's address is vivid with his style of imaginative rhetoric. He draws many radiant pictures, and utters many noble sentiments. He descries a regal glory in the far future of Africa, and so desires the education of our negroes, especially in industrial schools. He would have the society unfold anew its plans to public view, and hopes that in time Congress will give millions to its aid. In forty years he believes the negro element will have no significant existence in America.

So far we should nearly agree with him. But there are several other utterances for which the society should not make itself responsible by the publication of his address. His statement that the educated negro had "learned the multiplication table, but forgotten his prayers," is an injustice, not only to the negroes, but to the large body of self-sacrificing Christian educators, who, in the face of obloquy and sneer from men like Dr. Marshall, have been religiously educating the negroes out of the ignorant superstitions in which slavery had bound them, and bringing them to an intelligent piety. Dr. Marshall tells us "the ballot has been his bane;" but we must tell him it is not the "ballot" but the bulldoze by Caucasian hands in the form of disfranchising fraud and force which has been the "bane" of both negro and Caucasian. Dr. Marshall would not disfranchise the foreign-born, whiskey-drinking Irish papist, but he would disfranchise the home-born Protestant American negro. These and other blemishes in Dr. Marshall's address we would not consider as authorized by the society; but President Latrobe's utterances sound more authoritative. He tells us: "Colonizationists, as a rule, have believed that two distinct races, that cannot or will not amalgamate by

intermarriage, can live in the same land in but one of two relations—master and slave, or oppressor and oppressed." That maxim would "rule" out the best part of the American people. It coolly avows the policy of *oppression;* that is, of *serfdom* for the negroes, after slavery has ceased. If that is essential "colonizationism," we trample upon it. It is purely a gratuitous hypothesis, adopted not by reason, but by arbitrary will.

We support the organic operations of this society on the following basis. The negro has the same rights, and the same right to exercise his rights, on the American soil, that the Caucasian has. He has the right to stay here forever, and any declarations that he will be expatriated by 1920 are simply fools' prophecy. He has a right to such respect, and civil franchises, and position, as belong to his personal qualifications, irrespective of color. Any disposition or purpose to induce him to emigrate by oppression here is unchristian, unmanly, and devilish. But if in his own free-will he prefers to go to a land where his color and race are predominant by numbers and organic power, let all our philanthropy and wealth combine to enable him to emigrate to the land of his choice, with our blessing upon him.

The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. By Edward Gibbon. With Notes by Dean Milman, M. Guizot, and Dr. William Smith. In six volumes, 8vo. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

We fully indorse the opinion that Gibbon's "Decline and Fall" is the greatest work of history ever written. It traces in a style both of thought and language worthy of so great a subject the slow transit of the world from the ancient to the modern. This vast range of centuries presents events, characters and institutions requiring the hands of a master, and a master Gibbon always is. He is equally a master in discussion, narration, or description. On the great subject of Christianity it is his spirit rather than his facts that is to be impeached. In his own day critics impugned his narrations always to their own cost. The present edition presents us in the notes of Milman and Guizot, and especially in Milman's elaborate preface, an antidote to Gibbon's colorings of the origin and history of Christianity and the Church. But a greater antidote may be found in Milman's own history of the first three centuries. This present edition is one in the train of the magnificent series of standard histories, issued from the Harper press, a series which nothing but limited pecuniary requisites should prevent any scholarly man from having upon a conspicuous library shelf.

Miscellaneous.

Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. By Heinrich August Wilhelm Meyer, M.D. From the German, with the sanction of the Author. The translation revised and edited by William P. Dickson, D.D., and William Stewart, D.D. Part I. Second Edition. The Gospels of Mark and Luke. 8vo. Vol. I., pp. 348. Vol. II., pp. 371. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1880. Price $3 per volume.

A Model Superintendent. A Sketch of the Life, Character, and Methods of Work of Henry P. Haven, of the International Lesson Committee. By H. Clay Trumbull. 12mo., pp. 188. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Masterpieces of English Literature. Being Typical Selections of British and American Authorship, from Shakespeare to the Present Time, Together with Definitions, Notes, Analyses, and Glossary as an Aid to Systematic Literary Study. For use in High and Normal Schools, Academies, Seminaries, etc. By William Swinton. With Portraits. 8vo., pp. 638. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

A History of Classical Greek Literature. By the Rev. J. P. Mahaffy, M.A. In Two Vols. 12mo. Vol. I., The Poets, (with an Appendix on Homer, by Prof. Sayce,) pp. 525. Vol. II., The Prose Writers, (with an Index to both volumes,) pp. 458. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Sketches and Studies in Southern Europe. By John Addington Symonds. In Two Vols. 12mo. Vol. I., pp. 394. Vol. II., pp. 388. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Popular Series. *A Series of Sermons Against the Sins of the Times.* By the Rev. B. F. Austin, M.A. Pp. 115. Toronto: Hunter Rose & Company. 1880.

English Men of Letters. Edited by John Morley. *John Bunyan.* By James Anthony Froude, pp. 178. *William Cowper.* By Goldioni Smith, pp. 128. *Alexander Pope.* By Leslie Stephen, pp. 209. 12mo. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Shakespeare's Tragedy of King Richard the Third. Edited, with Notes, by William J. Rolfe, A.M. With Engravings. 16mo., pp. 254. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Character and Work of a Gospel Minister. A Discourse Delivered before the Ordination of Deacons at the Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Abingdon, Va., Sunday Morning, October 26, 1879, by the Rev. Bishop Pierce. Edited by T. O. Summers, D.D. Paper Cover. 12mo., pp. 23. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House. 1880.

Harper's Half-Hour Series. *Business Life in Ancient Rome.* By Charles G. Herbermann, Ph.D. 32mo., paper. Pp. 74. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Franklin Square Library, 4to, paper. *The Duke's Children.* By Anthony Trollope. Pp. 105. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

National Repository: Devoted to General and Religious Literature, Biographies and Travels, Criticisms and Art. May, 1880. Edited by Daniel Curry, D.D., LL.D. Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

The Expositor. June, 1880. Edited by Rev. Samuel Cox. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 27 Paternoster Row.

605

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1880.

ART. I.—ADMINISTRATION OF CHURCH LAW.

Ecclesiastical Law and Rules of Evidence, with Special Reference to the Jurisprudence of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By Hon. WILLIAM J. HENRY and WILLIAM L. HARRIS, D.D., LL.D. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1879.

THIS treatise is designed to assist in the orderly and legal, and thereby just and fair, administration of the rules and discipline of the Church. A portion of it is specially adapted to our own denomination, but it likewise contains a compendious statement of principles of law and rules of evidence which might well be commended to the observance of other Church tribunals. The importance of the subject is to be estimated from the object to be attained, and this is set forth in the preface as the maintenance of "sound doctrine and good morals." "In its legislation and administration the Church should seek, in all legitimate ways and to the extent of its authority, to prevent whatever would corrupt its doctrines, subvert its order, interrupt its peace, and stain its purity. Nothing scandalous or offensive should be allowed in its members; every Christian and churchly duty should be faithfully fulfilled; and all things should be done with seemliness and order unto edification and the glory of God. All these things are, therefore, proper subjects for the thoughtfulness, care, and authority of the Church."

This is a clear and temperate statement of the great objects to be attained, as nearly as may be, by a faithful administration of discipline. Essential integrity in morals and doctrine is a

necessary condition of life and efficiency in a Church. We would not lightly esteem the charity which suffereth long and is kind, but every communion of Christians is bound to insist upon rectitude of intention, at least, in its members, and a persistent endeavor to conform the life to the pure standard of the Gospel. No fervors of devotion can atone for a willful and habitual disregard of the moral law. This may seem to be an incongruous joining of ideas, but we sometimes see both the fervor and the immorality, not only in the same Church, but in the same person.

There is at times a tendency to laxity of discipline, when faithfulness would lead to the sacrifice of social and material advantages; and we may be apt to think it better to retain these, even at some cost, as a means of influence and power. But it was found out long ago that "better is a little with righteousness than great revenues without right." The long toleration of wrong not only breeds corruption and contagion within, but repels them that are without.

Neither should a Church continue to harbor those who seek to undermine its cardinal doctrines. We would allow a liberal margin for individuality of opinion, and for the different colorings which are given to the same truth by the wonderful variety of human minds. We would by no means trench upon a becoming independence of thought; but when a man's convictions lead him to discard the recognized and authoritative standards of the Church to which he belongs, its doors should open outward for him. Indeed, it is one of the mysteries, that men finding themselves in such a position should wish to remain. Of course this has no reference to the advocacy of changes in the economy of the organization.

We shall have occasion further on to consider the manner and spirit in which the law should be enforced; but it is pertinent, in this connection, to quote a rule which Chief-Justice Hale laid down for his own administration of justice: "That it be done, 1, uprightly; 2, deliberately; 3, resolutely."

The book before us is very comprehensive in its scope. It gives a summary of principles and rules which have been the subject of many and extended treatises. The attempt to condense within the compass of a volume such various matters, many of them involving minute and technical learning, has,

we think, been performed as successfully as the nature of the undertaking would admit. The discussions, as a rule, are connected, clear, and very suggestive. While the statements are necessarily brief, they are, at the same time, accurate and precise.

We shall have occasion further on to criticise some of the details, but we have no hesitation in commending the work as a valuable codification of the principles of law and evidence; valuable for the purposes had in view in its preparation.

Part First is a sort of philosophical disquisition on the origin, nature, and binding force of law—divine and human; the relations of ecclesiastical and civil law; and the responsibilities of those who are the subjects of law. Part Second treats of the organization and government of the M. E. Church, with special reference to the judicial administration of its Discipline. Parts Third and Fourth are devoted to a consideration of the rules of evidence. Part Fifth relates to practice, and this is supplemented at the end of the book with a collection of appropriate forms and precedents. Part Sixth is a discussion of the legal evidence of the authenticity of the Scriptures.

The main feature of this work is the portion devoted to the law of evidence. This includes a considerable part of that which comes under the title of "Practice." It is no overstatement when the author says: "Under this head, which is by far the most important part of a Church investigation or trial, we propose to consider those general rules that experience and the wisdom of ages have demonstrated as important guides to the attainment of truth. Every science has its rules of investigation, the ultimate object being the attainment of truth, whether it be the solution of a mathematical truth that is capable of demonstration, or a moral truth which is incapable of demonstration, except to satisfy the conscience of the tribunal before whom the investigation takes place. The rules of evidence are the means employed for the attainment of this object." —P. 108. To give even a synopsis of the treatment of this subject would monopolize the space allowed to this article.

It will strike the reader of the work that the author has extended his discussion beyond those rules and principles which have a direct or practical application before Church tribunals. There is much that relates to the various and intricate questions

which arise in the civil courts. But, in order intelligently to administer a rule in the simplest case, it is useful to understand its origin, and to trace the sometimes subtle distinctions which attend its application. It is quite the fashion to sneer at the technicalities of lawyers as being artificial, and perhaps absurd; but the thoughtful student of the science of evidence (as of other branches of law) will perceive that it is a system of common sense applied to the affairs of civilized communities. Mr. Phillipps says: "The principles of evidence are founded on our observations of human conduct, of common life, and living manners; they are not just because they are rules of law, but they are rules of law because they are just and reasonable." It is a code which has been built up by gradual accretions, through the reasonings of jurists, the tests of experience, and by the searching and sifting discussions of advocates in the courts, till it comes to us as the crystallized wisdom of ages. In sharp analysis and severe logic no science can excel it, but it is at the same time elastic, fitting itself to the requirements of every topic of investigation. Now, the mastery of these principles is not a matter of instinct. Dogberry says, "To write and read comes by nature," but the knowledge of jurisprudence is an *acquisition.* It requires, to be sure, a substratum of common sense, for without this any amount of legal learning will be unmanageable rubbish. But no man can safely handle the complicated machinery of justice till he has been somewhat indoctrinated in the principles and rules which have been handed down to us by our predecessors.

And yet, under the Discipline of our Church, those who preside at trials and make the rulings of law, from the lowest to the highest courts, (until we reach the General Conference,) are men who have not, unless outside of their present profession, had any legal training, and whose prescribed course of study, preparatory to the ministry, does not embrace even the most elementary work in juridical science. Of course, it is to be expected that the preachers should hold this important place in our judicial system. The preacher in charge is naturally the president, upon the trial of a member before a committee, and rightly so, as he is responsible for the proper administration of Discipline; the presiding elder, of course, occupies the same position at a Quarterly Confer-

ence, and a bishop in a Judicial Conference. The committee of an Annual Conference trying a member must necessarily be composed of ministers, who, in that case, act in the double capacity of judge and jury.* An appeal can only come to the General Conference upon questions of law, and under the present arrangement it is referred for disposition to a Judiciary Committee, which at the General Conference of 1876 was composed of eleven ministers and one layman.† A committee appointed under the authority of the General Conference of 1872 to report a code, and a committee of the General Conference of 1876, to which the report, or rather reports, of the former committee were referred, both proposed to introduce the lay element into our ecclesiastical courts; but the very complete report of the latter committee, which seemed to be received with considerable favor, was presented at a late date, and failed of consideration for want of time. But whether under our present arrangement, or any other which may be adopted, it is obvious that it is very needful for our ministers to familiarize themselves somewhat with the principles and practice which obtain in the courts of law. We would venture to recommend the work under consideration as a sort of post-graduate text-book for those who have passed through the course prescribed by the bishops. And not only this, but that they should, as time and occasion serve, by other studies and by observation, acquaint themselves with legal modes of reasoning and with the practical application of laws to the daily concerns of life. There is a great temptation to suppose that our own ideas of right and wrong, and what we may be pleased to call a natural sense of justice, will guide us to correct results. Hence we are inclined to throw off the restraints of precedents. We say we will decide according to equity and good conscience. But herein lies the germ and opportunity of arbitrary and irresponsible dealing with the rights of others. Our courts, in the exercise of what is specially distinguished as their equity jurisdiction, are governed by principles as

* The last General Conference shut off all opportunity for professional assistance upon the trial of ministers by enacting that in all such cases no one shall appear as counsel either for the prosecution or defense, except a member of an Annual Conference.

† In the General Conference of 1880 there were thirteen members of the Judiciary Committee, of whom five were laymen.

fixed and well defined as those pertaining to any other branch of law. Though the powers of a court of equity are more flexible and far-reaching than those of strictly legal tribunals, they are yet as settled and fenced in by precedent and principle. Otherwise these decisions would be simply the expression of arbitrary will under the name of law. They might be mere whim, or caprice, or worse. There is a quaint saying to the effect that if the chancellor's own notion is to be taken as law, then the standard of all measurements is the chancellor's foot. Arbitrary power is always dangerous, even when conscientious; perhaps most dangerous when most conscientious. We want *law* to rule over us, not men. Men must interpret and administer the law, but they should do so as its servants, not as our masters. In the administration of Church discipline there is greater need of observing the rules of legal investigation, from the fact that it is so difficult to constitute a perfectly impartial tribunal. When a case is presented to a court of law for its determination, the court is supposed to regard neither of the parties, but to look only at the cause. Hence justice is represented with bandaged eyes, and holding her balanced scales. In the very large majority of cases this is not only theoretically but practically true. The court knows nothing of the litigants. Problems of law and of fact are subjected to modes of analysis which are employed in all like cases, as if they were questions of science, instead of a heated contest between plaintiff and defendant. But it is difficult to secure these conditions in a Church trial. From the nature of the case, impartiality is apt to be wanting. Previous intimate associations, and prepossessions or dislikes, are quite likely to exist. Sometimes hot partisanship usurps the judgment-seat. The writer remembers an instance where a committee of eminent ministers, sitting in judgment upon the conduct of another, had most of them avowed their antecedent convictions upon the very matters in issue, and one of the triers had publicly, and under oath, stated his belief in some of the charges upon which he was to pass. Such a tribunal was quite liable to make the wildest possible work in the attempt to administer justice. Sympathy or prejudice and passion, with religious feelings and an unenlightened conscience, is a combination unhappily some-

times met, and it cannot be said to conduce to calm judicial inquiry.

It is said that Lord Tenterden when at the bar was a poor leader; that, in fact, he showed the most marvelous inaptitude for the functions of an advocate, and almost always lost the verdict. His biographer says: "This partly arose from his power of discrimination and soundness of understanding, which, enabling him to see the real merits of the cause on both sides, afterward fitted him so well for being a judge." If the ability to take a view on both sides of a question is perplexing to an advocate, it must be confessed that it is sometimes troublesome to the judge who is to decide. But no man should undertake to determine the rights of another who is too lazy to weigh conflicting arguments, or too biased to do so with at least an effort to be fair. While, as we have said, it is important that offenses should be punished, it is essential that they should be dealt with in a spirit of candor, and without committing violence upon the safeguards which even criminals have a right to invoke. This is necessary not only for the protection of the accused, but that the administration of justice may be respected, and punishment carry with it the moral weight which shall make it wholesome.

Upon the arraignment and trial of members the preacher in charge occupies a delicate position, and ought to act discreetly and with judicial circumspection. It has probably been to a great extent the practice for him to frame the charges, though, as our author suggests, he should avoid this, as he may be called on to decide upon their sufficiency in substance or form. He selects the jury (committee) and presides as a judge upon the trial, admitting or rejecting testimony, and deciding questions of law, and thus, perhaps, controlling the outcome of the investigation. But here we most emphatically protest against a practice which seems to emanate from high authority, and may have thus become extensive, and which seems to be approved by Bishop Baker in the following, which is quoted from him without disapproval in the note at p. 414 of this work. In fact, the text to which this is a note states the same thing in substance: "The question has frequently been asked, May the preacher remain with the select number while they are making up their judgment? In reply, Bishop Hed-

ding remarks, 'Certainly he ought, for he is pastor of the flock, and he would neglect his duty were he to be absent, and consequently not know on what law or evidence the judgment is rendered.'" What follows from the text of Bishop Baker shows the unsoundness of this position, though it does not seem to be so intended. He says: "The preacher under no circumstances should attempt to balance the evidence, weigh the probabilities, determine the credibility of witnesses, or draw inferences from the facts proved, and thus determine disputed questions of fact, even at the request of the parties." He has no right, then, to be present during the deliberations of the "select number." The reason given by Bishop Hedding is certainly a strange one; as if the preacher is to "know on what law or evidence the judgment is rendered" by listening to the discussions of the committee after the case is given to them! The judge who, after charging the jury in court, should retire with them to their room to coach them into a proper verdict, or to overhear their conference so as to ascertain on what the verdict is founded, would probably soon find his way before a court of impeachment. The triers of the facts are entitled to consult in secret, and the question is, Whether their findings are sustained by the evidence as given on the trial, and the known law of the case. Even if the preacher had the power, like a judge in a civil court, to set aside the findings, (which he has not,) it would be his duty to test them by the record and not by the conversations of the committee room. If it should be said that it is his duty to see that the findings are in due form, the obvious answer is, that when the committee return the findings to him any informality or insufficiency can be remedied before they separate. It not unfrequently happens that a jury come into court with a verdict in improper form, and the correction is made on the spot, and their assent taken to the same.

Let us now turn to one or two branches of the law of evidence on which the text of the book before us seems to be behind the age. The author says, (p. 129,) "The rule, as we have seen, which excludes parties from being witnesses for themselves, applies to the case of husband and wife, neither of them being admissible as a witness in a case, civil or criminal, and where, by law, the other would be incompetent." That this was a

rule firmly grounded in the common law is indisputable; and it is just as clear that the drift of modern judicial legislation is toward the free examination of parties, and also the admission of the husband or wife of a party to testify, under certain restrictions, grounded in public policy. The copious notes on this chapter show this in part, but the text adheres to the old rule. We think the more liberal rules now prevailing to a great extent are the more enlightened, and that the ecclesiastical courts should adopt the improvements which the municipal laws have inaugurated. The exclusion of parties proceeded upon the theory that the man who had a direct interest in the event of a suit was not to be relied upon to tell the truth even under oath. This principle also shut out persons, not parties, who could be shown to have a pecuniary interest in the result, to the amount of a sixpence. In short, the minutest interest raised a presumption of perjury. And so, when a jury was solemnly impaneled to well and truly try, and a true verdict give, upon some important question of fact, the law studiously stopped the mouths of the very persons who could tell them most about the subject in hand, and oftentimes the only persons who had any positive knowledge of the matter. As early as 1824 Lord Denman thus exhibited the hardship, not to say absurdity, of the rule then in force:

> In other cases the absolute rejection of light because there is a possibility of its leading astray, is difficult to be explained on rational grounds. Take, as example, the case of forgery. Unless the crime has been committed in the presence of witnesses, it can only be *proved* (in the proper sense of the word) by the individual whose name is said to have been forged; yet that person is the only person whom the law of England prohibits from proving the facts. The trial proceeds in the presence of the person whose name is said to have been forged, who alone knows the fact, and has no motive for misrepresenting it. His statement would at once convict the prisoner if guilty, or, if innocent, relieve him from the charge; and he is condemned to sit by, hearing the case imperfectly pieced out by the opinions and surmises of other persons on the speculative question whether or not the handwriting is his. And this speculation, incapable under any circumstances of satisfying a reasonable mind, decides upon the life of a fellow-citizen, in a system which habitually boasts of requiring always the very best evidence which the nature of the case can admit.

At length it began to be suspected that parties might tell the truth, no matter how strong their interest, and that those who were "disinterested witnesses" in the eye of the law, from bias or prejudice or want of moral principle might, after all, be as apt to lie as an honest man who is testifying in his own cause. A great many witnesses who have no legal interest in the issue of a trial are nevertheless so warped by feeling, or testify under such strenuous temptation to deviate from the truth, that they color and prevaricate and conceal as corruptly as even an unscrupulous party who has every thing at stake. The sensible conclusion has been adopted, that as the credibility of all witnesses must be determined by the jury, it is best to let the opposing parties confront each other and the other witnesses, and undergo such tests as the rules of evidence, the skill of counsel, and the common sense of the jury, may supply, for the discovery of truth and the detection of falsehood. Accordingly, England in 1843 removed the restriction from witnesses, other than parties who had a pecuniary interest in the case, and in 1851 admitted parties to testify in their own behalf, or at the call of their adversaries. This reform was adopted in New York in 1857, and it is believed that it has found its way into the codes of most of our States; and by Act of Congress it has been made the law in all the Federal Courts. There is one general restriction upon the examination of the party to an action or proceeding which is, in substance, that he may not testify in relation to a personal transaction or communication between himself and a deceased person or lunatic, as against the executor or administrator of such deceased, or a person deriving title or interest through or under him, or against the committee of the lunatic, unless such personal representative, etc., shall have offered himself as a witness to the same matter. The ground of this is obvious, but the restriction would not be applicable in any proceeding under our Discipline, except in the case of arbitrations as to "disagreement in business and non-payment of debts."

The policy of allowing defendants in criminal cases to testify in their own behalf was looked upon with greater distrust, and probably has not yet been so generally adopted, though it will doubtless become entirely prevalent. It seems barbarous to compel the accused to sit in silence, while a net-work

of evidence is woven round him, which may deprive him of liberty and character, or perhaps of life, and which his word alone can break. He might be able satisfactorily to meet and overcome the case against him if he could open his mouth in his own defense; and yet, if he cannot be heard, he must grope around to gather up a patch-work defense while every thing is in jeopardy.

Of course, under our laws, he cannot be *compelled* to testify. In the French courts the judge severely catechises the accused, and endeavors to extract from him some evidence of guilt, but it is against the principles and traditions of the English race to constrain a man to criminate himself.

The experience of the courts demonstrates the wisdom of this change. By calling the parties, the debatable ground is very much narrowed, for they generally agree about many things, and where they differ, the aid of other testimony, and the crucible of cross-examination, will generally bring out the facts with reasonable certainty. Cases are not very rare where the cross-examination of the party alone has been decisive of the case against him. The writer at this moment calls to mind an action brought by a gentleman for an injury which maimed and crippled him for life. The brief and general statement called out by his own counsel made a case for an enormous verdict. Upon being cross-examined, he gave the details, showing his own negligence, with such utter fairness and candor, and such rigorous impartiality, that when he hobbled from the stand he had lost his case, but he had won not only the sympathy of all, but our profoundest respect for the stainless honor of his manhood. It is not in the case of honest witnesses alone, however, that the cross-examination is effectual in eliciting the truth.

In regard to the admission of husband and wife as witnesses for or against each other, there is more ground for hesitation. It has been said "by them of old" that the "foundation of society would be shakened by permitting it." The exclusion of such testimony proceeded upon two grounds, identity of interest, and public policy. What was meant by the first may be seen by recalling how completely the legal status of the wife was merged in that of the husband. To enumerate a few of the particulars: upon marriage the husband became en-

titled to the use of the wife's lands during their joint lives, and if issue were born alive, he took an estate absolutely for his life; if the wife had an estate in lands for life, he became seized of such estate and entitled to the profits during marriage, "in right of his wife," as the lawyers grimly said, whatever consolation the phrase might afford her; he took her chattels real, the debts due her, and all her personal property as his own. This was the way he endowed her with all his worldly goods. As an offset to this, he was bound to maintain her, and to pay the debts contracted by her before marriage; but if she died before such debts were collected, he retained her property, but went free of the debts. She could not even dispose of her lands by will. In short, the spirit of the law was that the husband and wife were one, and the husband was that one.

The general current of modern legislation is sweeping away the barbarous rules of the common law, by which the husband absorbed the property and the legal existence of the wife, and her interests and rights are now made separate and independent. One ground of the old rule of evidence is therefore removed. The other ground is thus well stated by the author:

> The law, having regard to the happiness of the marriage state, and to prevent invasion of that confidence that husband and wife are required to repose in each other, has wisely provided that communications made by one to the other should be kept inviolate, and that nothing confided by the one should be extracted from the bosom of the other.—P. 125.

This is a solid foundation, and it is to be hoped, an indestructible one. Communications that are made under the sacred confidence of the marital relation should certainly be held sacred. But this by no means exhausts the possibilities of evidence. The husband or wife often possesses information of facts most vital to the controversy, which was acquired independently of any communication from the other, as any other witness would acquire such information. There is no limit to the cases we might cite from every-day experience illustrative of this. For example, suppose the husband to be accused of uttering a slander on an occasion when the wife was present, or that the husband should witness an assault upon his wife, or that, as often happens, the wife, in her husband's absence, has

transacted business as his agent, and, the other party to the transaction being a witness against the husband, she is the only person who can protect his rights in court. What has the protection of confidential communications to do with the exclusion of such a witness? *Ratione cessante, cessat ipsa lex;* where the reason for a rule ceases, the rule itself fails. It will not be found difficult in practice to draw the proper distinction, and apply it intelligently.

The rule is plainly stated as follows in the present code of the State of New York: "A husband or wife shall not be compelled, or, without consent of the other, if living, allowed, to disclose a confidential communication made by one to the other during the marriage." We think decidedly the same shield should be thrown over such confidences *after* the death of either party, as before, and that such disclosure should not be allowed in any case after such death.

It may be said that it would be subversive of sound policy to compel a wife, living with her husband, to come into court to testify against him in any case, at the instance of his adversary. Practically this is rarely if ever attempted. Litigants in their senses would not, under ordinary circumstances, adventure quite so far into the enemy's camp. Especially in Church trials it would be impossible for this evil to occur, because the witnesses appear only of their own accord.

Lord Denman, whom we have already cited, though in favor of allowing *parties* to testify, was still of opinion that husband and wife should be disqualified as witnesses for or against each other. First, on the ground already discussed, that the confidence between married persons makes their whole conversation an unreserved confession:

> But (he says) our stronger reason is, that the passions must be too much alive, when the husband and wife contend in a court of justice, to give any chance for fair play to the truth. It must be expected as an unavoidable consequence of the connection by which they are bound that their feelings, either of affection or hatred, must be strong enough to bear down the abstract regard for veracity, even in judicial depositions.

This is certainly not a flattering view of human nature, and if it does not somewhat underestimate the average regard for truth, judicial tribunals have very little solid ground upon

which to stand. The contrary view prevailed in England as early as 1853, when an act was passed making husbands and wives of parties in civil suits competent and compellable to testify, they being privileged, however, from disclosing any communication made to them during the marriage. In 1867 the Legislature of this State (New York) enacted a similar law, and this was followed, in 1876, by an act making husband or wife competent, but not compellable, to testify in all criminal proceedings against the other. The drift of opinion is now in favor of admitting all witnesses who are able to throw light upon the questions to be tried, leaving it to the jury to make all reasonable allowances for their interest or feelings, and determine the credit to be given to their testimony. Although perjury is too common in our courts, it is doubtful whether it is more so in consequence of the removal of the restrictions which shut out all interested witnesses; and it is certain that courts now have much greater facilities for arriving at the truth. All these reforms have encountered opposition, and have been adopted not without misgivings, but experience is demonstrating their wisdom. It is a common notion that the science of law is mainly the following of precedents, but there is nothing that better marks the progress of civilization than the history of jurisprudence; and our greatest jurists have been liberal, though judicious, reformers. More than two centuries ago Sir Matthew Hale condemned "the over-tenacious holding of laws, notwithstanding apparent necessity for, and safety in, the change." Nothing much better than the following passage has been written since:

> He that thinks a State can be exactly steered by the same laws in every kind as it was two or three hundred years ago, may as well imagine that the clothes that fitted him when a child should serve him when he was grown a man. The matter changeth; the custom, the contracts, the commerce, the dispositions, education, and tempers of men and societies change in a long tract of time, and so must these laws in some measure be changed, or they will not be useful for their state or condition; and, besides all this, time is the wisest thing under heaven. These very laws which at first seemed the wisest constitution under heaven have some flaws and defects discovered in them by time.

What an illustration we have of the truth of this, when we remember that this same upright and immortal judge, under

a statute of the realm, tried and sentenced to death two women as witches, and the following Sunday, in allusion to the matter, wrote a "meditation concerning the mercy of God in preserving us from the malice and power of evil angels." One of his successors, we are told, put an end to witchcraft by directing prosecutions against the parties who pretended to be bewitched, and punishing them as cheats and impostors.

An interesting and important chapter of the book before us is devoted to the consideration of presumptive, or circumstantial, evidence. This has long been a subject fruitful of debate, it may be said of controversy. It is stoutly contended by many that it is dangerous to convict of crime in any case, especially so of capital offenses, upon merely circumstantial evidence. Mr. Phillipps, a writer on evidence, to whom reference has already been made, has published a collection of "famous cases of circumstantial evidence," in many of which persons were convicted who afterward appeared to have been innocent. These cases have served as a sort of arsenal from which to draw weapons of defense against all accusations resting upon presumptive proof, and, doubtless, juries have often been deterred from acting upon their own firm belief by the recital of some well-selected instances of mistaken verdicts. But, granting that the cases are all well-authenticated, they make no real argument against the propriety, nay the necessity, of proceeding, even to extremes, upon this species of evidence. Of many of the cases stated by Mr. Phillipps it may be said that no jury should have found a verdict of guilty upon the facts proved; and under our present benign administration of law, with the aid of counsel to the accused, (a right formerly denied,) with every facility afforded to him for the production of his evidence, and with the right given him to testify in his own behalf, there would be slight danger of his conviction.

But if sometimes the innocent have been condemned upon circumstantial evidence, we must remember that they have also suffered upon direct and positive testimony, given by perjured witnesses. We are not, however, to discard either kind of proof because it may occasionally lead us to erroneous results.

The distinction between direct and circumstantial evidence was stated substantially as follows by Chief Justice Shaw upon the trial of Prof. Webster for the murder of Dr. Parkman:

Direct or positive evidence is where a witness testifies to the precise fact which is the subject of the issue in trial; thus, in a case of homicide, that the party accused did cause the death of the deceased. But in case of circumstantial evidence, where no witness can testify directly to the fact to be proved, you arrive at it by a series of other facts, which by experience we have found so associated with the fact in question as, in the relation of cause and effect, that they lead to a satisfactory and safe conclusion; as where footprints are discovered after a recent snow, it is certain that some animated being has passed over the snow since its fall, and, from the form and number of the foot-prints, it can be determined with equal certainty whether it was a man, a bird, or a quadruped. Circumstantial evidence, therefore, is founded on experience and observed facts and coincidences establishing a connection between the known and proved facts and the facts sought to be proved.

With the case put by the chief justice we have a good illustration of the two kinds of testimony. If a witness should swear that he saw a man pass across a field it would be direct and positive testimony; if, however, no person saw the man, but we found human foot-prints on the recent snow or the yielding soil, we know from this circumstance, as surely as we could from direct evidence, that a human being has passed that way; and from certain peculiarities of the track, and correspondence with the boot of a particular man, we may be able to identify the individual with considerable certainty. One circumstance after another may be added, all tending to the same result, and each increasing the force of the inference to be drawn, till we arrive at that degree of moral conviction which is resistless. Many a criminal has fancied himself secure in the secrecy of his deed, till some clew has led the way to a train of surrounding facts which have fastened upon him with remorseless certainty.

Careful reflection will show us that in the common affairs of life, whether simple or complicated, we to a very great extent form our conclusions and take our action upon presumptive evidence. The man who is the best discerner of signs, and the best judge of probabilities, will, as a rule, arrive at the most correct results. The facts we gather from absolute and positive evidence are few compared with the ultimate facts which we reach by a course of reasoning, but which we rely upon with confidence. Indeed, it will be found upon the last analysis that much of what we call direct or positive evidence

is, after all, presumptive. The following extreme illustration of this is given by Chief Justice Appleton, and was also made use of by the attorney general in Webster's case: You see a man discharge a gun at another, you see the flash, you hear the report, you see a man fall dead, and you infer from all these circumstances that there was a ball discharged from the gun which entered his body and caused his death, because such is the usual and natural cause of such an effect. But you did not see the ball leave the gun, pass through the air, and enter the body of the slain, and your testimony to the fact of killing is, therefore, only inferential; in other words, circumstantial. The judge might have gone further, for even in so plain a case of irresistible inference of fact, we could not without further proof adjudge the man-slayer to be guilty of murder, but for two presumptions which the law supplies; first, that every one is presumed to be sane till the contrary appears, and, second, that every man is presumed to intend the natural consequences of his acts.

It would not be useful for the purposes of this article to attempt to draw the distinction between presumptions of law and of fact; nor would it be possible to enumerate or classify the great variety of inferences which we are constantly drawing from the facts which surround us. In our practical deductions we act upon our knowledge of the laws of nature, of animal instincts, and of the physical, intellectual, and moral constitution of man. In regard to human conduct, we judge it generally to proceed from the ordinary motives, affections, and passions which animate the human breast. Thus, in a celebrated case, Solomon rightly decided a question where the positive evidence was in direct conflict, upon the simple presumption that a mother's love would prompt her to give up her offspring rather than see it slain; and we are told that the people "saw that the wisdom of God was in him to do judgment."

As Chief Justice Shaw says, it is necessary, owing to the secrecy of crime, "to use all other modes of evidence besides that of direct testimony, provided such proofs may be relied on as leading to safe and satisfactory conclusions; and, thanks to a beneficent providence, the laws of nature and the relation of things to each other are so linked and combined together that a medium of proof is often thereby furnished leading to infer-

ences and conclusions as strong as those arising from direct testimony." When we have the direct testimony of a witness to a fact, the witness may be false, and we may not have the means of detecting the falsehood, and this has given rise to the claim that presumptive evidence is most satisfactory, as witnesses may lie, but facts cannot. To this it has been replied that though facts themselves cannot lie, the men who testify to them may, and thus in both cases we run the risk of perjury. But it must be remembered that in the case of presumptive proofs we commonly rely upon a collection and comparison of various facts and circumstances coming from different witnesses, and that they are much less liable, as Judge Shaw says, to be falsely prepared and arranged, and thus falsehood and perjury are more likely to be detected. There have been cases, however, of fabricated circumstantial evidence, where a skillfully laid plot has surrounded an innocent person with the appearances of guilt. This may be elaborately and artfully done; and, especially where the mouth of the party was closed by the law, it has, doubtless, sometimes been done with fatal effect. The Bible affords us a simple illustration of this species of imposition. When Joseph secretly placed a cup in the mouth of Benjamin's sack, and sent after him to accuse him of theft on the strength of his being found in the possession of apparently stolen property, he fabricated a case of circumstantial evidence against him. True, it was not pressed to a conviction, because it had an innocent purpose, being prompted by fraternal love, in which respect it was quite distinguishable from some of the devices of his father in his unregenerate days. For the reason above stated, the instances in which perjury enters into and vitiates presumptive proofs are few compared with those in which direct and positive proof is manufactured.

In cases of doubt in our ordinary affairs, and in the determination of civil cases by our courts, we judge in accordance with probabilities, that is, according to the preponderance of evidence; while in criminal cases, on account of the more serious consequences, we require the evidence to be of such a convincing nature as to exclude every reasonable hypothesis consistent with the innocence of the accused. This has been reduced to a maxim, so common as to be familiar to all, that the accused is entitled to the benefit of every reasonable doubt.

But this doubt must not be a mere whim or caprice. It has been defined to be "that state of the case which, after the entire comparison and consideration of all the evidence, leaves the minds of jurors in that condition that they cannot say they feel an abiding conviction to a moral certainty of the truth of the charge." In other words, proof beyond reasonable doubt is that which "establishes the truth of a fact to a reasonable and moral certainty, a certainty that convinces and directs the understanding and satisfies the reason and judgment of those who are bound to act conscientiously upon it."

When a case is thus made out we are not to be deterred from acting by fear, simply because the consequences of a barely possible mistake may be irreparable. Where circumstantial evidence has wrought in the mind a degree of conviction equal to that produced by direct testimony, we must act upon it in the same way. There is the possibility of error in either case, but human administration of law is ever imperfect and ever liable to mistake. We are not for that reason to nullify the law.

As the author says, the prosecution of offenders under the discipline of the Church is, in some respects, analogous to criminal proceedings; but we venture the opinion that in a religious organization where, from the nature of the case, its standing and efficiency depend so much upon purity of reputation in its members, and the avoidance of scandal, the weight of probabilities, as in ordinary civil cases, is sufficient to justify a Church in protecting itself by removing the cause of offense. It cannot afford the benefit of every doubt to those who are bringing reproach upon its name.

There is one function of circumstantial evidence of the utmost practical importance. In the great majority of instances the case does not depend upon either direct or presumptive proof alone, but rather upon a mixture of both. Unfortunately, it is of frequent occurrence that there is a strong conflict of direct testimony. We often hear the most violent contradictions between witnesses, called to testify to the same facts or circumstances from personal knowledge. This is not always to be attributed to perjury on one side or the other. It is a wise maxim of law that if a conflict between witnesses can be explained upon the hypothesis of honesty on both sides, we are

so to explain it; if we cannot, we adopt the theory of perjury as a last resort; but, in either case, we are to find out the truth with as much certainty as possible. How is this to be done? We of course take account of the character of the witnesses, if known or proved, of their means of observation, their clearness or confusion of memory, their manner and appearance in testifying, and various other matters which may affect their credibility. But these tests will not always suffice. Courts and juries are sometimes led astray by perjury, and even upon ecclesiastical trials falsehood is possible, and may be so plausible as to "deceive the very elect." In these cases of conflicting direct evidence, we resort to presumptive evidence to settle the doubt. We inquire which is most rational; which best accords with the known facts; which is most probable upon a consideration of the character and conduct of the parties and of the witnesses; which is confirmed or weakened by any circumstances appearing in the case. Truth must be consistent with itself. If an alleged fact cannot co-exist with an established or admitted fact, it must, of course, be discarded. It may be that an apparently trivial circumstance, when carefully examined, absolutely contradicts a mass of testimony, and bars our way when we were rapidly driving on to a conclusion. There is occasionally confusion and apparent inconsistency in the attending circumstances, when explanation and comparison may reconcile the seeming discrepancies, so that through the tangled skein we may trace the white line of truth till it leads on to a sure and safe result.

It must be admitted, however, that human testimony, in all its varieties, is a very imperfect means of arriving at the truth. Such are our differences in constitution, in perceptive faculties and reasoning powers, in prejudices and prepossessions, that, upon the plainest matters, we seldom perfectly agree. Perhaps none of us suspect how much the images in our minds are distorted by the medium through which they enter. Even as to objects of sense we find great difficulty in getting an exact report. A number of eye-witnesses to the same occurrence frequently get such different and sometimes contradictory impressions of the same occurrence that no two can unite upon the details. Especially is this diversity manifested in the attempt to repeat conversations, or any kind of oral statements.

A slight change of expression, even the omission or misplacing of a single word, will often entirely pervert the meaning. But when we consider how often the hearer fails to comprehend the true import of words at the time they are spoken, and how treacherous the memory is at all times, the more so when under the bias of interest or prejudice, we see the extreme caution necessary to be exercised in all this kind of evidence.

But this liability to error is by no means peculiar to legal investigations. It enters into the whole world of opinions, dividing mankind into an endless variety of parties. It invades the solemn domain of history, which has its conflicting schools and theories, and its hot partisanships. With all the proverbial uncertainty of law, it is in fact among the most certain of any of the departments of human inquiry. It gives us scientific and logical modes of proceeding, so that even when we grope our way in the midst of confused elements, we have light upon our path. If we adhere to established principles, and follow where experience guides us, we shall best render to our fellow-men such measure of justice as is possible to our limited means of knowledge, and our imperfect judgment.

Art. II.—THE ETHICS OF SINCERITY.

Sincerity is a fundamental virtue. Without it there can be no moral excellence of character and conduct. But is it, as many think, the all-sufficient virtue? They hold any line of belief and action amply vindicated by the fact that it was the honest following of individual judgment and conscience. If a man speak out his own convictions of what is true, and act out his own convictions of what is right, what more can be required? If he did otherwise, would he not be culpable? "I tell things as I see them; I do my duty as I understand it. I may be mistaken, but I am surely sincere. Therefore, I am free from reproach. My own heart approves, and God, who knows my honesty, must approve me. If men condemn, they are either ignorant or unjust."

This plea is plausible. It professes to be based on the ethical axiom that intelligence and volition condition and measure

low inventory – low inflationary – cap spending m

In paper

1 Analysis of economy.

2. Analysis of industry

3.

responsibility. It appeals to common sense, which has in numberless instances accepted the excuse, "He knew no better." Much Scripture is cited in its support. But thoughtful men shrink from its far-reaching consequences. The idolater claims sincerity as well as the worshiper of Jehovah, the Mormon as well as the Christian, the heretic as well as the orthodox, the infidel as well as the believer. Some persons believe in communism, some in free love, some in persecuting unto death those who reject their creed; there are even found in our day and land a few who believe that they should kill their own children to the glory of God. What error, vice, crime, however monstrous and pernicious, may not be justified if this plea be admitted? Besides, often as we have urged in our own behalf, and acknowledged in behalf of others, sincerity of conviction as a valid ground of acquittal from censure, we have not less frequently condemned persons, sometimes with severe scorn and indignation, on account of their avowed opinions and deeds, without denying that they really held those opinions, and that their deeds conformed to their own code of morals.

Read the fourteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and the tenth of the first Epistle to the Corinthians. Difference of opinion, and hence of practice, existed in the Churches about the lawfulness or obligation of eating certain meats and observing certain days; and Paul wrote that every man should follow his own convictions. "Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth not judge him that eateth: for God hath received him." "One man esteemeth one day above another, another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." "For why is my liberty judged of another man's conscience?" These passages seem to teach that sincerity in obeying conscience is the test of uprightness and divine approval; that men who pursue contrary lines of conduct may be equally accepted of God, because they agree in doing what they conceive to be his will. "Wise and noble words of liberty and toleration!" certain persons cry out; "how they rebuke the narrowness and despotism of Churches that insist on one faith, and proscribe all who do not think and do like them!" But lest they confound liberty and license, let them take along

with those places these from Paul and John: "As we said before, so say I now again, If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed." "He that abideth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and the Son. If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him Godspeed: for he that biddeth him Godspeed, is partaker of his evil deeds." The principle involved in these apostolic words is adopted by multitudes who care not for orthodox Christianity; for whatever latitude they may claim or allow on other points, they cannot endure atheism, free love, Mormonism, and a long list of doctrines which, in their judgment, undermine all pure and wholesome morals. What is the principle? The reply is ready, that in the one set of cases men differed on comparatively trivial points, and in the other on the most vital and momentous; but we wish to draw out the moral principle which justifies or excuses those who err in certain respects, if sincere, and does not allow sincerity as a defense in other cases. Shall we not follow our own reason and conscience in grave matters, as in slight? Do not the importance and obligation of taking them as guides rise with the gravity of the issues? The question is worth studying.

1. Sincerity of opinion does not affect the objective rule of right. There is a standard, a law of righteousness, outside our thinking, independent of us, superior to us. A merchant whose yard-stick is short does not give good measure, however ignorant he may be of its defect. My thinking that suicide is justifiable as an escape from incurable disease or rooted sorrow does not make it right. Eminent writers, even in our day, have taught that truth is what one thinks, that right is what one believes or feels he ought to do. But this doctrine is too shocking to need refutation; indeed, all the refutation possible or desirable is a clear statement of the position, and an appeal to the intuitive convictions of every mind. All our judgments, true or false, imply a standard of truth, a reality external to and independent of our opinions and reasonings, with which they should agree; all our moral sentiments imply a law of righteousness apart from and supreme over our conscience. This law, in its essential principles, is one, changeless, eternal, though human creeds and codes are many, varia-

ble, conflicting. Either there are many gods, or One, or none; all these views have been maintained, but they are not, cannot be, equally true, equally false; one must be true, the others false. Either dueling is right under some circumstances, or it is always wrong; the principle does not alter, however opinions and customs may. That empiricism, skepticism, or agnosticism, which denies or doubts that there is any right or wrong except a notion, or a feeling, or both, puts out the eyes of the soul and dwells in thick darkness.

2. Sincerity does not prevent the mischievous effects of false teaching and wrong practice on others. At this point apply many analogies which, we shall hereafter show, are illogically employed to prove that to be sincere is not to be guiltless. Poison is not less fatal because the person administering it believes it to be innocent and medicinal. The shot will not fail to kill because he who pulled the trigger in sport knew not that the gun was loaded. A man may ignorantly drop a spark on gunpowder or nitro-glycerine, and the disaster be as great as if it were intentional. So, if he teach error honestly, he will mislead; if he inflame passion and incite insurrection, the consequences may be terrible despite his persuasion that he only opposed grievances which should not be borne and advocated rights which should be maintained; if he persecute believing that he does God service, the sufferings that result are not less real and severe. Abhorrence and terror at pernicious doctrines and immoral conduct are not lessened by the plea, though true, that their advocates are sincere.

3. Sincerity does not neutralize the evil effect of wrong views and practice—wrong, we mean, by the absolute or objective standard—on the spirit and habits of those adopting the opinions and course. We are now discussing, not innocence and guilt, but the state of the heart, the dispositions which are cherished and obeyed. It is not morally indifferent what men think and how they act, provided they be conscientious. The savage believes that revenge is noble and obligatory; that not to avenge insult and injury proves weakness, cowardice, and obtuse sensibility; that is a bounden duty to visit severe retribution, swiftly, if possible, but even after the lapse of years if opportunity do not sooner serve, not only on the offenders, but also on their families and kin. He fans the wrath in his

own breast and in his comrade's, and rejoices to spoil, maim, and slay his foes without shame or self-reproach, but rather with a judgment and feeling of merit before gods and men. The Christian considers both the spirit and act of revenge wicked and vile, and cultivates and exercises forbearance and forgiveness. Let us concede, for the sake of the argument, that they are equally honest in their opinions, that each follows his own light, that they are both guiltless; nevertheless, the savage cultivates the temper and habit of vindictiveness and hate, the Christian of generous, unselfish, all-conquering love; one allies himself to demons, the other to angels and to God. If men understand not the sanctity of marriage, but indulge their lusts without restraint, they wax more and more sensual and bestial, they sow to the flesh, though unwittingly, and of the flesh they reap corruption, while chaste love and a happy home refine and elevate.

Does sincerity, then, count nothing in the formation of character? Indeed, it is of great worth. There can be no worse habit than insincerity. To be honest and conscientious is a large and essential element of moral excellence. In the cases supposed, there is not the ruinous moral effect of violating the sense of duty, of committing willful sin. This distinction is fundamental and momentous; he who does wrong ignorantly does not suffer the same demoralization, the same perversion and wrenching of his moral nature, as the enlightened transgressor. Yet simple following of conscience, without respect to its contents—to what conscience enjoins—is not the whole means of spiritual improvement; it cannot save those who violate the law of justice, purity, and love, ignorantly and in unbelief, as did Saul of Tarsus, from the reaction of the evil course on their own hearts. He was a sincere Pharisee then, as later he was a sincere Christian. We shall presently investigate the question of his innocence or criminality in those days when he breathed out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of Jesus; but however that question may be decided, it is evident that despite all his conscientiousness he was debasing, hardening, brutalizing his own nature, he was cultivating pride, bigotry, hate, and cruelty. What a contrast is presented by his later life, when his heart expanded and warmed with the noble and spiritual religion of Christ, and,

with a world-embracing charity kindled by the love of Jesus, he rejoiced to preach the unsearchable riches of grace to Jew and Greek, high and low, bond and free! Then he sowed to the Spirit, and of the Spirit reaped the blessed harvest of all that is true and just and pure and lovely and good, in moral character.

We pause here to note the vast practical significance of this truth as a motive to search diligently for that faith which is pure and undefiled, for that ethical code which most hallows and exalts; and, further, as a motive to evangelize all nations. The *missionary* power of this motive we would emphasize, because it is needed to refute the sophistries by which professed believers would excuse themselves from the obligation to propagate their faith, or else to kindle in their cold hearts enthusiasm for this great cause. The argument is still heard that the heathen are sincere in their worship and low system of morals, and therefore not guilty, not exposed to punishment; that there is no call, therefore, to disturb their ease and security by pouring the light of the Gospel on the darkness in which they lie. We say nothing at this point on what Richard Watson styles the "doting and toothless theology" that teaches the *safety* of the pagan world; the reply we now make to the miserable plea of selfish ease and unbelief is that the heathen, however honest in their errors, are degraded and corrupted by the lies they believe and the vices they indulge, and that it is our plain duty to purify and uplift them by the glorious Gospel of the blessed God. Independently of all considerations of sincerity it does matter whether we are heathen, Mohammedan, Jew, or Christian; whether Romanist or Protestant; whether skeptics or believers; whether fatalists or libertarians; whether we hold that virtue consists in following pleasure, or general utility, or the sovereign authority of essential right. When the excuse is made in behalf of round dances, card-playing, horse-racing, and other amusements, that though they be objectionable by the strict code of Christianity, yet they are innocent to the large numbers who see no evil in them, we answer that the demoralizing tendency of these sports is a proved fact, apart from the question whether or not the participants in them understand their injurious effect. If our children attend the theater without scruple of conscience, they are not, indeed,

fighting conscience, but they do expose themselves to the dangerous influences of the play and the associations.

4. The most difficult point remains to be discussed, Does sincerity justify? It does not make an act right, it does not prevent the mischievous effects of our wrong conduct on others; it does not neutralize its demoralizing tendency on our own heart; but is a man guiltless who does what he believes to be his duty, however defective and even positively erroneous his views? Can he be justly blamed and punished for an evil deed if he verily thought in himself that he ought to do it? Shall he not rather be commended for obeying conscience, though an unenlightened and sadly mistaken conscience?

We often meet loose reasoning, false analogies, on this point, in works of great ability. "If men say it would be unjust in God to punish them for violating his law when they did not believe, or did not certainly know, that it was his law, we point them to the fact that this holds of physical laws—that he who takes poison will be killed, even though he did not know, or did not believe, that it was poison." The fact to which the writer points cannot be disputed. The fatal effect of strychnine does not depend on the knowledge, belief, or intention of him who takes or him who gives it. The hostess may poison her family and guests by dishing out soup which she believes to be wholesome food; the mother may force an unpalatable dose down the throat of her resisting babe, and if the druggist sent her poison instead of the proper drug, the life of the child will not be saved by his own reluctance or the good intention of the mother. Knowledge, motive, and free will, need not enter into the account; the poison works its natural effects—"this holds of physical laws." But shall we affirm whatever belongs to physical laws of moral laws also? Is the housewife guilty as well as the cook who, with murderous intent, poisoned the soup? Is the mother guilty as well as the cruel or careless druggist? Is the babe justly punishable for the crime of self-murder? In the sphere of morals it is material whether the offender knows or believes that he is breaking the law of God. Responsibility involves intelligence and liberty. The physical consequences of an act do not depend on its being voluntary or involuntary, but when the question concerns desert of punishment, no just person can refuse to con-

sider whether it was done with or without choice and consent. It is equally plain that accountability is conditional on knowledge. Innocence and guilt are determined, not by a uniform standard for all men, not by the perfect law of righteousness, but by the varying degrees of light they enjoy. The obligation to obey conscience is universal, and this means that every man should obey his own conscience, be it rudimentary or developed, dark or enlightened, uncultivated or refined; he ought, in other words, to do what he believes right. There may be hesitation in admitting this broadly-stated position, but we may press the question, Ought he ever to disobey conscience to do what he believes wrong under the circumstances?

It may be said that not conscience, but the word of God, is the rule to be followed. This, however, is irrelevant. We are not discussing the sources of our knowledge of duty. Whether that knowledge be intuitive, or reached by a process of inductive or deductive reasoning, or gathered from the Holy Scriptures, the question arises, Are we not bound to obey our convictions of duty? It is true, that the ultimate authority or foundation of right does not dwell in conscience, nor in any other power of the human soul; just as the authority or basis of all rational principles is not in the reason by which they are known, but in the truths apprehended. The authority of the civil law is not in the judge, not in the supreme court; it would be false to affirm that the constitution or equity is whatever the court thinks; yet its decisions must be accepted at the time as the correct interpretation of the law. So at any instant the moral law to a person is practically what his conscience sees to be binding, and truth to him is practically what his judgment sees to be true.

Abundant testimony in favor of this position is furnished by the Scriptures. We quote only a few verses: "Jesus said unto them, If ye were blind, ye should have no sin: but now ye say, We see; therefore your sin remaineth." "For as many as have sinned without law"—sinned against the law written in the heart without possessing the light of revelation—"shall also perish without law," perish because condemned by the light of nature, not because condemned by the law of Moses or of Christ, of which they had never heard. This passage establishes the responsibility of the heathen, and disproves the no-

tion that they are not obnoxious to punishment. They have light, though not the full, bright light of the Gospel, and are justly punishable for offenses against law in their minds. The extent of their guilt and penalty is known not to us, but to the righteous Judge of all the earth. "But sin is not imputed where there is no law." "Hast thou faith? have it to thyself before God. Happy is he that condemneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth. And he that doubteth is damned if he eat, because he eateth not of faith; for whatsoever is not of faith is sin." "Therefore to him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin."

Some will grant that whoever conforms to the law of rectitude so far as known to him must be acquitted, though he come short of complete righteousness through defect of information; that pagans should not be judged by the law of Moses, nor the Jews who lived before Christ by the Gospel; and yet they will shrink from admitting that one can be held clear in doing a positive wrong, though he believed it his duty. But how can this inference be escaped, since conscientiousness is always obligatory, and conscientiousness consists in following closely one's own conscience?

We reach the conclusion, therefore, that sincerity does justify; that we cannot be justly held to more than living up to our own light. But what is this sincerity that should be accepted as a ground of acquittal by man and God? It is a quality far deeper and higher than what commonly passes under the name. Sincerity exists in widely different degrees, from a comparatively common virtue to the highest spiritual excellence, to that singleness of eye which fills the whole body with light. A sincere person is one who loves light, not merely for the gratification of curiosity, not merely for the sake of speculative wisdom, but that he may be guided in the path of duty; who seeks the truth with all his heart wherever he may hope to find it; who is not biased by custom, self-interest, willfulness, or the voice of prejudice, pride, and passion, but with purity of intention desires to learn his whole duty, that he may do it at all cost and hazard: who does the will of God in all points so far as he knows it, and presses on after fuller knowledge. This thorough-going, perfect sincerity justifies, and this alone, and it is a rare virtue.

The insufficiency of the common plea of sincerity may be illustrated by a few hypothetical cases. You spread an evil report about your neighbor, and when charged with slander defend yourself by saying that you believed it true. Granted, but did you know it to be true? Had you taken pains to examine what foundation there was for it? Did you not accept mere rumor as proof, or magnify matter of suspicion into evidence of guilt? Did not the love of gossip, a personal grudge, or some prejudice, move you to catch hastily at this report, and to believe it without sufficient proof? If the accused had been your brother, would you not have flamed with indignation against any who, on such testimony, spoke of him even as probably guilty? Sincerity of belief, in order to justify you, must include the spirit of justice and charity in forming and uttering the belief. The verdict of the jury expressed their sincere opinion of the guilt of the prisoner. They are too honest to find a man guilty of felony and send him to the penitentiary or gallows if they believe him innocent. The heat of their indignation against him was a sign of their belief in his crime. Nevertheless, the trial was not fair; the testimony against him was manifestly prejudiced, confused, inconsistent, and wavering; the jurors seized eagerly on whatever tended to convict, and were impatient of evidence and argument in his favor; they were blinded and swayed by the preconceptions and passions which prevailed through the whole community against the religious or political creed, the family or the social class, of the accused. Can they be credited with thorough sincerity? or excused by their partial sincerity?

"He began to say unto his disciples first of all, Beware ye of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy." This insidious, wide-spread leaven vitiates the plea of sincerity which we are so ready to offer, and in which we place so much trust. Few will confess, or even suspect, that they are tainted with the odious vice of hypocrisy, or even in serious danger of such contamination. All admire sincerity and despise a hypocrite. But then many have very narrow and superficial views of the beautiful virtue of sincerity and of the loathsome vice of insincerity. Hypocrisy in its grossest, extreme form is not general—the hypocrisy of the false friend who, like Joab, asks after the health of his brother, and takes him by the beard

to kiss him, but holds a sword concealed in his hands, and smites him therewith in the fifth rib; or, like Judas, betrays his Master with a kiss for silver; of the crafty politician who advocates before the people one set of measures with the purpose of carrying out the opposite policy as soon as he is in power; of the professed Christian who in public makes a great show of zeal for the faith, and of strict sanctity, in order to get money, reputation, office, or power, or overthrow virtue, while in secret he ridicules religion and indulges every lust. Nevertheless, hypocrisy, acting a part, appearing to be other and better than we are, claiming purer and loftier motives and aims than the reality, abounds in general society and in the Church; and these deceivers are also self-deceived. Let no man easily take it for granted that Jesus Christ would not say to him, Thou hypocrite! If we convince our readers not merely of the possibility, but of the real danger, of what we may call unconscious and yet guilty hypocrisy, we shall do them a service.

Lack of sincerity is shown by a comparison of the judgments we pass on ourselves and on other men. If honest, we would try ourselves by a standard not less strict than that by which we try our fellows; and our condemnation and abhorrence of our own sins in them. It is hypocrisy to condemn in another what we allow in ourselves; and what we call honest indignation against wrong is often proved to be selfish and uncharitable, because we are guilty of like or equal wrong with little shame and compunction. Esau had a deadly hatred against Jacob, the supplanter who by subtlety took away his blessing; but he forgot that he had sworn away his birthright to his brother for a consideration. Jacob was sharp and hard at a bargain; but what a hypocrite was Laban, his father-in-law, who deceived him in the promise of Rachel, changed his wages ten times, and pretended to be sorely hurt in his parental affections because he had stolen off secretly, and not suffered him to kiss his sons and daughters, and send them away with mirth and songs, with tabret and harp! That chiding between father-in-law and son-in-law is an impressive illustration of human insincerity, each presenting his own cause with plausible exaggeration, and painting in darkest colors his own grievances; and such quarrels between two self-seeking and crafty

men, each of whom tries to get the advantage and is thrown into a passion of indignation if he himself be outwitted and overreached, are not rare in any age. "Bring her forth and let her be burned," said stern Judah against Tamar, who had played the harlot; but soon he was forced to acknowledge, "She hath been more righteous than I," and then he did not see any necessity that either should perish by fire. "As the Lord liveth, the man that hath done this thing shall surely die. And he shall restore the lamb fourfold, because he did this thing, and because he had no pity." Well spoken, royal David, faithful protector of thy flock, and avenger of evil deeds, though done by the rich and great! What tenderness of conscience, what generous zeal against meanness, what generous pity for a poor oppressed subject, this just sentence displays! But alas! the king had taken from brave and loyal Uriah, not a pet lamb, the only one of the house, but a beautiful and beloved wife, his only love, though David had many wives; and to this outrage he had added the murder of the injured man. "Thou hypocrite!" But are we not hypocrites, too? Are we not more lenient to our own offenses than to those of others? "And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye; and behold, a beam is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye."

The zeal of propagandism has often a large alloy of unconscious hypocrisy. "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves." Love for Jehovah and truth was their professed inspiration; but if this had been their real spirit, instead of being content with gaining converts, they would have led them on to purity of heart and life by example and precept. Are our Churches and Sunday-schools as enthusiastic in promoting virtue and saving souls as in swelling their own number and power? Doubtless there is much pure zeal, but the motive of proselytism in not a few cases is composed two thirds, if not three, of love of party and desire for its domination. Nor

is this insincerity, this aiming at success of party under pretense of aiming at success of principles, peculiar to religious bodies; we find it in politics, in rival schools of philosophy, and every-where. The history of persecution furnishes a notable instance, or, rather, a large class of instances. Religious bodies when proscribed and down-trodden have seen clearly the beauty, obligation, and utility of toleration, of liberty of thought and conscience; have argued cogently and remonstrated with wounded feelings against the narrowness, cruelty, and folly of attempting to serve the cause of truth and God by fines, fetters, stripes, and death; but no sooner had they waxed powerful in numbers and influence, and been established in authority, than they verily believed themselves in conscience bound, for the sake of truth, social good, and the salvation of souls, to punish all heretics, and propagate their own faith by sword and fagot. Hypocrites, though self-deceived!

A third instance of hypocrisy is the strictness with which men have insisted on minor details of virtue and piety, and their looseness in respect to the great fundamental principles of morality. "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith; these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone. Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat and swallow a camel." Those men clamored against the sin of violating the sanctity of the Sabbath by healing the sick, and against the sin of eating with publicans and sinners, overlooking the sublime words of their own Scriptures, "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice." They sacrificed the spirit to the letter, moral principle to the minutest points of ritual, and the plain sense of God's word to tradition. There are men now who devour widows' houses, and make long prayers, in private as well as in public; who dare not go to bed without first kneeling before God, whose law of justice and charity they habitually break; men who make a great ado against a glass of wine or a cigar, and yet, with scarce a twinge of conscience, cheat in trade or backbite a neighbor; men who would feel condemned and humiliated if they failed to pay their pew rent and partake of the Lord's Supper monthly, and yet cherish malice the year round; men who would not be caught in a theater for thousands

of dollars, and yet are full of bitterness and almost cursing against their brethren, and feel only the holier on this account. These cases are possible only through defect of honesty. And yet, such are the windings and twistings of the human heart, the apology often made for minor faults by comparing them with those of greater gravity savors also of hypocrisy. "It is better to whirl and hug in the dance than to spend the evening in talking and hearing slander. A Sunday excursion of pleasure is not so bad as defrauding *employés* of their wages and grinding the poor. We do not attend prayer-meetings, but we do pay our debts and help the needy." But mark the lesson of the great Teacher: "These," less duties, "ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone." In setting forth the transcendent worth of the grand principles of righteousness which underlie all particular precepts, the Master did not command, nor allow, the omission of less weighty matters of the law or of conscience.

A like sign of insincerity is the attention men pay to the outer form of religion, while careless of its spirit. When they do their alms they sound a trumpet before them, when they pray they love to be seen of men, and when they fast they put on a sad face. They cleanse the outside of the cup and platter, but within are full of extortion and excess. It may be thought that all these are cases of arrant hypocrisy; that these persons assume for worldly purposes a show of virtue and piety which they are fully conscious that they do not possess. But this is a mistake. Though their chief motive is the pride of goodness and love of praise, they credit themselves with wonderful charity and devotion, and promise themselves favor and reward from God. When circumstances have stripped off the sheep's clothing from a wolf and the lion's skin from an ass, the wolf and ass have ofttimes been as much astonished at the disclosure of their real nature as the bystanders, and have suffered the loss of self-respect as keenly as the loss of reputation. How little we discern the earthly and selfish motives of our own moral, benevolent, and pious behavior! and yet how quickly detect, or, without knowing, suspect, these motives in our fellows! Consider, too, the large number who look more to reward from God than to worldly reputation, and yet seek his favor not by cultivating the spirit of purity and love, but by a

merely exterior morality, and by zeal in building churches and like good works. They say, "Lord, Lord," but do not the Father's will, and they vainly trust to be accepted in the judgment. Hypocrisy has blinded their minds to the truth; thorough sincerity would soon show them their error.

A very bad, and yet common, form of hypocrisy consists in a pretended zeal for the right and indignation against iniquity, when the real prompting is selfishness and hate. We seek to arouse the virtuous feeling of our neighbors against injustice and corruption, and we seem to be aflame with such sentiments ourselves, whereas the secret motive is a personal advantage we hope to secure, or a personal grudge we hope to gratify. So general is this insincerity, that when a man is very angry and very much disgusted with certain conduct, the suspicion arises that his own interests have been touched, or else that he is envious, jealous, or resentful at the persons whom he censures so severely in the name of righteousness. How sharp men are in criticism; how dreadful in denunciation of the faults of their personal, political, and denominational opponents; how keen and unsparing in exposing all the shams, sophistries, and hollow excuses by which those faults would be concealed or extenuated! And all this they profess to do through mere love of virtue and fair dealing; and they persuade themselves—strange infatuation—that they deserve honor of the public for the noble spirit they have displayed and the service they have rendered to the cause of pure and lofty morals. "And the ruler of the synagogue answered with indignation, because that Jesus had healed on the Sabbath-day, and said unto the people, There are six days in which men ought to work: in them, therefore, come and be healed, and not on the Sabbath-day. The Lord then answered him and said, Thou hypocrite, doth not each one of you on the Sabbath loose his ox or his ass from the stall, and lead him away to watering? And ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound, lo, these eighteen years, be loosed from this bond on the Sabbath-day? And when he had said these things all his adversaries were ashamed." Their shallow and false reasonings were so exposed, and the real motives of their accusation against the pure and merciful Jesus, that they felt humbled and ashamed of themselves; but

so little love of truth and holiness had they, and so much of pride and vain glory, that they soon fell back into self-admiration, and into haughty contempt and hot indignation toward others who omitted a punctilio and overstrained interpretation of the law, while their own hearts were empty of the love on which rest all the commandments. "Now Moses in the law commanded us, that such should be stoned; but what sayest thou?" High respect for Moses and desire to know present duty were the avowed motives of the question, yet in their hearts they sought only a ground of accusation against the holy Teacher. "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her;" and at this reply they were convicted by their own consciences, and silently went out one by one, beginning at the eldest, even unto the last. "Why was not this ointments old for three hundred pence, and given to the poor? This he said, not that he cared for the poor, but because he was a thief, and had the bag, and bare what was put therein." Many excuse themselves from giving to missions on the plea that the money is needed at home, and yet give meagerly whatever may be the appeal, and spend freely for their own gratification, or invest largely that they may build up a fortune. "Wherefore all this waste?" they ask, as they look at costly churches; and perhaps the funds might have been more usefully expended, but these critics keep their money in their own pockets instead of bestowing it liberally for the relief of the necessitous whom they profess to pity, and to whose benefit they would convert the superfluous cost of cathedrals; and in some cases they may even impoverish honest laborers by their trickery and extravagance.

Responsibility for belief cannot be rationally disputed, though it is limited, and we should be careful to rest it on the right ground. No one can be justly blamed for involuntary, unavoidable ignorance and error. Our knowledge is scant, our judgments are fallible. We are accountable for the talents committed to our keeping, five, two, or one, and for these only; but the faithful use and consequent improvement of these is a duty. We are under obligation to add to our knowledge, correct our mistakes, invite and welcome light; to examine and judge earnestly, cautiously, candidly, patiently. Men say that they cannot change the constitution of their minds; that convic-

tion belongs to the logical faculty and not to the will; that they must believe according to the evidence; that they have no control of their opinions. But experience teaches that we do possess power over our attention; that we may elect or refuse to investigate a subject; that we may either content ourselves with what we already know and believe, or collect diligently all possible information; that we may weigh the whole evidence, or fix our mind on a part and turn it away altogether from the remainder; that we may be guilty of nearly all the unfairness and one-sidedness in arguing a question in our own mind that are usually suggested by the phrase "special pleadings." Attention has been beautifully described as a natural prayer for the enlightenment of reason; and with this natural prayer we should join, on moral and religious questions, earnest supplications for the wisdom from above, the illumination of the Holy Spirit. Ignorance is no justification where we might and should have known; the plea of following conscience cannot avail if we take not pains to instruct conscience, or fail to inquire, with that simplicity of soul which thrusts self aside, and asks only, What wilt thou have me to do? if we listen rather to pride, passion, self-interest, or self-will. Willful blindness, self-stultification, imposing on ourselves sophistries so gross that we would promptly detect and denounce them if employed by opponents of our own cherished opinions or purposes, believing what we would like to be true rather than what is proven, are facts too frequent and obvious to be denied. The guilt is not in following conscience, but in not following it fully; the sincerity is not complete, not profound, not thorough, but partial and superficial.

We are very incompetent judges in the case of others, how far their darkness and errors are voluntary and, therefore, guilty. To them we should be lenient, while seeking to set them right; but our own hearts we should search with all diligence and honesty, and not accept lightly the plea for our mistakes that they proceeded from lack of light or weakness of judgment. There is one historical case to which we can apply these principles, because we have revelation as our guide —the case of Saul the Pharisee and Paul the Christian. Sincerity, in the popular, less profound sense, must be granted to Saul. He blasphemed Jesus because he believed him an im-

postor, and persecuted his disciples because he believed that this was doing God service. He always affirmed his conscientiousness in these things. He was not a hypocrite of the type of those who professed zeal for Jehovah and Israel while secretly infidel or indifferent, or of those who affected moral strictness in public while privately wallowing in licentiousness. Such hypocrisy he loathed and scorned. His guilt was not so great as if he had rejected and persecuted the Nazarene, knowing him to be the Messiah. "Who was before a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious; but I obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly in unbelief." The same mitigation of guilt was pleaded by the Crucified in behalf of his murderers, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." But neither in the case of those who with wicked hands crucified and slew our Lord, nor in the case of the young man who consented unto the death of Stephen and wasted the Church, were ignorance and a false belief a justification. Saul confessed himself a great sinner, the chief of sinners. Wherein? For doing what he honestly held to be his duty, misled, not by a bad heart, not by a will which yielded to evil, but by unavoidable ignorance? Not so; but because he cherished pride, self-righteousness, contempt of his fellow-men, and vindictiveness, which were immoral, shut his eyes against the plain teachings of the Scriptures and the credentials of Jesus, and perverted his views of duty. Our Lord condemned the Jews who did not receive him, and the condemnation was based on this ground, not indeed that they were convinced of his Messiahship in their hearts while they denied him with their lips and lives, but that light had come to them, and they preferred darkness; that they could not appreciate the truth of his doctrine and the divine glory of his kingdom, because of that worldly and carnal soul which sought the loaves and fishes, and the honors which come from men; that they were blinded, hardened, and enslaved by the lusts of their depraved nature and the want of any true love to God or man, and, therefore, were out of harmony with the truth, and under the yoke of falsehood and unbelief. Paul came to see that the secret source of his pharisaic zeal and anti-Christian hate was not a genuine hunger and thirst after righteousness, not the supreme love to God which humbles, purifies, and enlight-

ens, which excites tenderness, gentleness, forbearance and benevolence to all men, not a self-renouncing and truth-seeking spirit, but unspiritual, worldly, unholy tempers and aims that mislead the conscience, that are a film over the inner vision, that are in fact both inhuman and impious. In one place, it is true, many interpreters think that he claims a perfect sincerity in those blaspheming and persecuting times. "And Paul, earnestly beholding the council, said, Men and brethren, I have lived in all good conscience before God until this day." Some interpret, "I have discharged my apostolic office." But whether he referred to his whole past life, or only to the part since his conversion, we may safely say that he did not mean to claim for his pharisaism that singleness of eye which the heart-searching God approves, because he condemned himself with great severity for his course, and because inspiration condemned other Jews of the same day and circumstances for their unbelief. His Christian consciousness of sincerity he described in these comprehensive and beautiful words: "For our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world." He threw open all the windows of his soul; there was in him no duplicity, but simplicity, singleness; not a manifold nor even a twofold motive and intention, not an appearing to seek one object and a real seeking of somewhat quite different, but all his thoughts lay unfolded for inspection, and his whole aim was to serve God and save souls; his was the sincerity before God which stands the searching test of the pure and brilliant sunbeams; he was not guided by carnal wisdom, the policy that seeks a selfish and worldly success, or scruples not at the means by which to secure a worthy end; he was inspired and directed by the Spirit of truth, holiness, and love in his aims and methods. There was a crystal clearness in his conscientiousness, a crucifixion of self, a fullness of consecration, an abounding charity, a harmony of his whole soul and conduct with the first principles of virtue and piety, which differed radically from his state when his very breath was fiery with threatenings and slaughter, and he was swept along by the madness of pride and revenge. True, "touching the righteousness which is in the law," he was "blameless." But this was an outward and

ceremonial righteousness of the letter and not of the spirit: not the righteousness which Micah described: "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" not the righteousness which Christ described, "The first of all the commandments is, Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord; and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength; this is the first commandment. And the second is like, namely this, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself; there is none other commandment greater than this."

To sum up: 1. The standard of truth and duty does not depend on human opinions. The most thorough conscientiousness in Saul of Tarsus, if proved, could not change the facts of the indictment, that he fought against the truth, blasphemed the Son of God and Saviour of mankind, and persecuted the saints in violation of justice and charity. 2. The sufferings he inflicted on the disciples and the moral injury of his example on his own people are not the less real because of the honesty of his convictions. When converted, he must have looked back on his conduct with regret, if not with remorse. 3. His proud self-complacency in an outward and ritual righteousness which lacked the heart of love, his arrogant and scornful bigotry, and his fierce delight in persecuting the Church, reacted on himself in narrowing and perverting his moral nature, in stifling all sweet and lovely sentiments, and making him harsh, tyrannical, and vindictive. Yet his conscientiousness preserved him from the reprobacy and baseness of those who slander and tread down what they know to be sacred and divine. We feel a degree of admiration for the earnestness with which he maintained his own principles, but it is mingled with detestation of his haughty and blood-thirsty intolerance. 4. His innocence or guilt must be determined, not by our light and advantages, but by those amid which he lived. A perfectly sincere Israelite might hold up his head in judgment as well as a perfectly sincere Christian. Complete sincerity seeks with all the soul and strength to know what is true in creed and right in act, for the love of truth and holiness, and does not obscure, nor color, nor refract the light in the interest of covetousness,

ambition, or pleasure, or for the gratification of pride of opinion, blood, or character, or to exalt one party and depress another. We do not attribute to this simplicity, this singleness of intention, omniscience or infallibility, for the soundest eye can see only in the light, and the vision will be dim when the light is feeble. But we do affirm that it is an obligatory virtue and the necessary condition of using aright the light given; that to the single eye God reveals duty and also his own uncreated beauty and glory. Unless we are in this moral state, we cannot claim to be accepted by the Searcher of all hearts, though we believe that creed we confess, and obey the dictates of our conscience. A true estimate of the innocence or guilt of Saul may be formed by comparing two verses in the same chapter (1 Tim. i, 13, 16) which assign different, but not inconsistent, reasons for the special mercy he received, "But I obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly in unbelief." "Howbeit, for this cause I obtained mercy, that in me first Jesus Christ might show forth all long-suffering for a pattern to them which should hereafter believe on him to life everlasting." Did Saul utter blasphemies against one whom he knew to be the Only Begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth, crucified out of love for a guilty world? Did he know that he was wasting the elect of God, the Church, which is Christ's bride? Not of that wickedness was he capable, or he would have been past hope of conversion, past mercy. God had pity on the blinded sinner. But he was not like Simeon, who waited to see the salvation of God. Jesus could not have said of him as of Nathanael, "Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile!" He had not the love of truth and righteousness which led John and James, Peter and Andrew, to be first disciples of the Baptist and then of Jesus. It was mercy, great mercy, that bore with his unbelief, and gave him a special revelation of the Son of God that he might be convinced and saved. His is a monumental case of the long-suffering and grace of Jesus Christ.

Art. III.—THE REGENERATION OF PALESTINE.

Palestine has been for many years a land of ruins; and ever since its chosen people were banished, as a nation, from its confines, members of the race have indulged in spasmodic efforts to regain its fertile plains, beautiful valleys, and crowning city, as their own. But these efforts have not been national, not even general, and, as a rule, have been little more than vain and enthusiastic plans plaguing the brains and torturing the hearts of a few of the faithful who have hoped to see Jerusalem regained and Israel re-established in his ancient home.

Within the last few years the Jews of some of the European capitals—London and Paris especially—have made some concerted trials to effect organization, and to proceed in a regular manner to possess the land and make it their own. The wealth and influence of Montefiore and the Rothschilds, in combination with the labors of the "Alliance Israelite" of Paris, have succeeded at least in calling the attention of the world to the fact that the Jews are again active in the matter of regenerating the Promised Land, and fitting it for the advent of their long-looked-for Messiah; and occasional announcements of their enthusiasm and success have led to the popular belief that they are quite likely to be successful in their endeavors. We have been told that their promised inheritance is rapidly becoming their own, and that a remarkable change is taking place through them in the Holy Land. It is stated that the scepter is even now virtually in the hands of that stanch Israelite, Baron Rothschild, who, for the loan of two hundred millions of francs to the Sultan, has a mortgage on the entire land, and may possess it any moment he pleases. According to these floating stories, great improvements are going on among the Jews of Jerusalem and the whole country; they are building up a new city in and around Jerusalem; are founding schools, hospitals, and newspapers; and a body of Venetian Jews is sustaining an agricultural school with a view to train up a community of their brethren to be tillers of the soil. The number of Hebrew residents has doubled, according to these statements, in the last ten years, and every thing is on the high road of modern improvement, even to a railroad, etc.

Now, it is clear that these things are set afloat by interested parties and circulated by ignorant ones, and they are gladly believed because it would be gratifying to the world at large to see this land of ruins regenerated, and at least fitted for the abode of men if not for the coming of the Messiah, either of the Jews or the Gentiles. But in the main these accounts are not true, and they have become of late so rife and mischievous that there appeared in a late issue of the New York Christian Advocate the following rejoinder to them all, from an authority well-known to our Church and the nation, and which, we need hardly say, puts a very different face on the matter:

JEWS RETURNING TO ZION.

We have just clipped from a religious journal the following article on the return of the Jews to the land of their fathers, and the improved condition of Palestine, which contains so many statements calculated to mislead the public, I deem a correction necessary:

"Meanwhile, a railroad stretches over a part of the Holy Land; the scream of the iron horse echoes among the hills and valleys where the old prophet long ago uttered his prediction of a chariot that in the great preparation day of the Lord would run like lightning. There are also two hundred and fifty Protestant Churches worshiping among the sacred hills; and seven hundred and sixty children in the Sunday-schools of Palestine ring out the very hymns and songs that our children know and sing here in America. Baron Rothschild, at the time of the last loan of two hundred million francs made to Turkey, accepted a mortgage on the whole of Palestine. Owing to the Jewish immigration, the population of Palestine has more than doubled during the last ten years."

The facts are: There is not a railroad in all Palestine. "The scream of the iron horse" has never broken the deathly silence that pervades the land. There is not an American missionary in the Holy Land, nor a Sunday-school; but one Protestant Church in Jerusalem, another outside the walls, and one at Nazareth. The Jewish population has increased during the last few years, but the population of the country has more rapidly decreased. The Jews have no intention of re-occupying the land. They go there to die, not to live. No Jew around Jerusalem owns or cultivates an acre of ground. Baron Rothschild has no mortgage on Palestine. He could easily purchase the country if he wanted it, but he does not covet it. The Jews of Europe and America will never return to Palestine unless forced back at the point of the bayonet.

F. S. DE HASS,
Late U. S. Consul at Jerusalem.

Now, harsh as these assertions may seem, they are corroborated by other authorities that we might quote, and by frequent correspondence from the Holy Land on the part of intelligent and disinterested observers. And it may now be well to consider the present condition of the country, and obtain a candid view of the real efforts that are being made by various parties to improve the condition of things in Palestine; for there are many eyes turned thitherward in holy zeal and with a hope, almost forlorn, to be able by degrees to regenerate the land. But we need hardly say that the day has gone by, if it ever existed, when men of sound mind went thither as ordinary emigrants, in the hope of bettering their condition and making a fortune. When Canaan was the fertile land of milk and honey we can comprehend why foreign nations regarded it with longing eyes and desired to pitch their tents and guard their flocks on its plains. But at present the soil will not, certainly does not, support one tenth of the population that then lived in plenty. The mountains are at present without forests, and, being scorched by the sun, are poor in running streams. Their sides were once made fruitful by terraces of rich earth, which long ago by neglect were allowed to be washed down by the rains into the water-courses, so that one sees every-where little else than bald and barren precipices. The fig, the olive, and the grape, once the glory and support of the land, are now so meager and so poor as to have lost much of their value and fame.

The country possesses three large and fertile plains, which might be made the sources of great wealth. But the valley of the Jordan lies fallow because of the inertness of the government in superintending its irrigation, and what little is now produced is quite likely to become the spoil of the nomadic and thieving Bedouins. The plain of Esdraelon and the plain skirting the sea are still valuable, even with their primitive mode of cultivation; with a generously renewed soil and a modern style of culture they might be made mines of wealth. The natives, however, will make no effort to improve the condition of the land and introduce new methods, and strangers can hardly live there on account of the deadly fever. The Mennonites, who leave Russia in large numbers to escape military duty, and who are just now coming to us, for awhile tried the plain of Sharon along the sea, but in the course of a

year so many of them died of the fever that the rest gathered up their effects, sacrificed what money they had invested, and came away.

The cultivation of the land by the native peasants—the so-called fellahs—amounts to merely enough to keep them from starving. If they produce a bushel of grain more than they need for their direct wants, it is taken from them by the Turkish tax-gatherers, who are experts in extortion. The extreme poverty of the poor natives is their only protection, and so the land lies neglected year after year. In the line of industry there is not any more encouragement: there is no market for their products, neither in the back country nor on the coast, for there are no ports for convenient export. All the ancient artificial harbors are in ruins, with one exception, that of Jaffa, which, though sufficient for the small sailing craft of ancient days, cannot accommodate the steamers of the period; these sometimes, therefore, lie for days before Jaffa in a storm, waiting to land passengers, or they carry them past to other ports to be taken back to Jaffa by some returning vessel that may have better weather and consequently better success.

There is only one passable road in the country—that which leads from Jaffa to Jerusalem—and it is going to decay. It was made some nine years ago, and has been neglected ever since. For a time there was some talk of a railroad on this route from the port of Jaffa to Jerusalem; but the French company that proposed it did so as a matter of speculation, and as soon as it was seen that it could not be made to pay, the project was abandoned. No enterprise, indeed, can be carried on that needs fuel, for there is but little to be had; and therefore manufactures that depend on it for steam power, as well as railroads, can have no success. Consequently camels are still the main means of transport for what little merchandise there is, which, indeed, scarcely extends beyond the olive-wood wares from Jerusalem and the mother-of-pearl work from Bethlehem. Even these industries are far from lucrative because of the active competition caused by the excessively narrow sphere for industrial labor.

These are clearly no very attractive conditions, and one is, therefore, surprised that men are ever inclined to go thither as emigrants, to better their material condition; and, indeed, none have done so except a few visionary enthusiasts, like the

Adams Colony, which emigrated from Maine a few years ago, but quickly fell in pieces, some of the colonists returning home, charitably assisted to do so by our authorities, and a few remaining to eke out a precarious existence as guides and dragomans to American and English visitors. Those who go to stay must have some stronger motive than that of making money. The Jews go in religious fanaticism, many of them to live and die as recipients of charity, if not as paupers. All the efforts that have been made at times in this country to get up colonies of Jews for Palestine have failed. The Israelites of this country know well enough that for them the Land of Promise is to be found in our large commercial centers, which have for them more attractions than Jerusalem itself. The only power that moves them thither is religious enthusiasm; not even persecution can do it, for they put up with every thing rather than desert their rich opportunities in the great cities of Europe and America. The present irritated feeling about the Jews in Germany will not send one of them to Palestine. Those who go thither are impelled by religious motives only, and of these there are not many in comparison to the thousands scattered about the world.

For the last few years about four hundred have gone thither annually, as our consul says, "not to live but to die." These are mostly from Russia, and they come not so much to avoid military duty as to flee from the conflicts with their own brethren—the Reform or Progressive Jews. The strife between the Orthodox and the Liberal Jews often becomes so bitter as to divide families and introduce the greatest antagonism. The adherents of the Talmud would rather leave their homes than endeavor to live in peace with those who follow the dictates of the Cabala. The Russian and Polish Jews are extremely strong in their prejudices, and nothing can move them from their purpose. They believe that the kingdom of the Messiah will soon be re-established in Palestine, in accordance with the words of the prophet, and those who are there will be received with rejoicing. This hope to them is a magic power, and if not fulfilled during their lives, they will at least have the pleasure of laying down their bones in the valley of Jehoshaphat, whence they can see the coming of the Lord to judge the heathen and all oppressors of their people. And

therefore, are found among them so many old and decrepit men, who simply come to spend the evening of their days on the sacred mountain, and pray, and be buried, in view of the site of the ancient temple.

The present condition of the Jewish colonies in Palestine is any thing but desirable. They are forced for protection to reside together in certain fixed settlements. Nobody likes them, and they could not settle anywhere at random; Oriental Christians, as well as Moslems, would persecute them, for Oriental Christians are experts in intolerance. There are now in the Holy Land about twenty-one thousand Jews, who live mostly in the rabbinical cities—Jerusalem, Saffed, Tiberias, and Hebron. About fifteen hundred live in the commercial centers, but the largest number is to be found in Jerusalem—thirteen thousand. These differ very greatly in costume and speech, according to their origin. Half of them are Spanish Jews, who took refuge here when expelled from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella. In language, appearance, and dress they all betray their southern origin. The so-called German Jews are mostly Russian, Polish, or from the Danubian Principalities. They are very tenacious of their costume, even to the fur cap, though in a warm southern country. Many of them are slovenly and filthy in appearance, and well calculated to inspire disgust at sight. One sees the same type at all the great fairs of Germany and Russia. Then there are some five hundred hailing from Northern Africa, who are in reality Arabs, and thus resemble the natives. But each of these groups has its national peculiarities, and they all have their antagonisms. The only national bond is the Hebrew tongue, which all male Jews must understand.

The Jews are mostly confined to their own quarter in Jerusalem, as they are in all the large cities of Europe; they are now, however, inclined to infringe on the Christian quarter, and especially to extend their district outside of the gates. But they largely tend to herd together and live in densely populated houses, partly for the reason that they may have access to the same cisterns for water, in the use of which they are forced to be very economical; indeed, many of them live almost without air, light, or water, and the result is a great mortality from fevers and other diseases, induced by uncleanly

habits. Most of those who come bring a little money with them, but, in the absence of any remunerative employment, this soon runs out, and the impoverished depend on benevolence for support; and they would all assuredly starve were it not for the practice of the Jews in Europe to send large sums to the Holy Land for the support of their co-religionists. All Orthodox Jews continue to pay the ancient temple-tax, in the shape of alms for their brothers in the Holy City. Even the Liberal Jews of the European capitals will do this, in order to counteract the efforts of the Christian missions, which, as we know, make but little progress in reforming them. There is thus a steady stream of money flowing in to the rabbies for the support of synagogues, hospitals, poor-houses, and hospices for the temporary shelter of the unfortunate. In confirmation of which let the reader peruse the note below, lately sent from the Holy Land in correspondence to the "New York Herald," by a gentleman who has lived there for over a dozen years:

JAFFA, *November* 12, 1879.

"The Jews Regaining their Land," is the title of a paragraph going the rounds of the papers, to the effect that, "owing to the Jewish immigration, the population of Palestine has more than doubled during the last ten years." As a resident of this country since 1867 I can positively deny this statement. Many Jews, it is true, have come to live in Jerusalem, (not in other places,) or rather to lay their bones in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, during the past decade, but it is incorrect to declare that "the population of Palestine has been doubled" by such immigration. The population of this land was 1,200,000 ten years ago, and to maintain it has doubled would give us an influx of 1,200,000 Jews. The truth is that about five thousand have come to Jerusalem during the past ten years. Of these a large number have died, but others may have taken their places, leaving the number about the same. Nearly all these Jews live in poverty, and make appeals from time to time to their wealthy brethren in Europe and America for means to maintain themselves and their families. The immigration is, in fact, an influx of paupers, who expect to live in idleness upon the savings of their relatives in other lands who may take pity upon their destitution. Some are eventually disgusted at the penury which the rabbies' strict rule often enforces, and return to the countries whence they came. I helped a few weeks ago a poor American Hebrew to return to New York, and the United States Consul at Jerusalem has given assistance to many of various nationalities out of a fund sent him for that purpose. I am informed that there are sixty charity associations in Jerusalem, a city of 25,000 inhabitants.

These Jews of Palestine are neither inclined nor able to engage in trading or industrial pursuits; they have no culture for any thing higher; and their entire energy is, therefore, concentrated on the matter of religion, which, in a certain sense, pays them, either from the poor fund or from their own zealous endeavors in behalf of others. A goodly number of the Polish and Russian Jews make a living by offering for their friends at home daily prayers, which, since the destruction of the temple, may take the place of the ancient sacrifices. For these they receive a regular stipend, which seems to satisfy both parties, though the prayer becomes a mere mechanical performance, totally destitute of unction and consecration; indeed, they are evidently a very burdensome task to the operators. Even the young men seem to have no ambition to work for an honest living, and their highest aim is to be promoted to the rabbinical order, to which end all their studies are directed. All studies are neglected that do not aim to fit them for the peculiar sect to which they may chance to belong. They thus acquire a skill in memorizing the *minutiæ* of the Talmud, and maintaining hair-splitting disputations on points of the law; but they entertain a supreme contempt for the sciences and all the other refinements of western civilization.

This state of things has been greatly regretted by intelligent Jews in Europe, who for many years have been making fruitless efforts to effect some improvement. In this connection we may make honorable mention of Sir Moses Montefiore, the distinguished English Jew, who at the advanced age of ninety-three years, even now, it is said, contemplates a visit to Jerusalem to inspire energy into plans that he has created for the regeneration of his people and the country. His purse has long been open to their calls, and our journals have periodical paragraphs relating to the enterprises that are being carried on under the auspices of his bounty; but it is very doubtful if any good results from it. His friend and colleague in good efforts, Baron Rothschild, of Paris, has also not been weary in well-doing; and the Parisian Jews, under the lead of the statesman Cremieux, lately deceased, some time ago formed a Jewish league, termed the "Alliance Israelite," whose object is to aid the Jews of Palestine to help themselves. But the very moment any proposition is made to them to cast away their sluggish

inertness, they find a thousand reasons for opposing it; nothing satisfies them that is not according to the letter of ancient law. This Parisian Alliance resolved to establish an agricultural school and colony near Jaffa, in the hope of introducing a better system of tilling the land, and above all of leading the young Jews to take an interest in agricultural pursuits, which would give them an honorable support and develop the latent wealth of the country.

A considerable sum of money was expended in securing a fine farm, erecting buildings, and supplying stock and agricultural utensils. But the Orthodox Jews, who still hold to the ancient laws—and they are by far the most numerous—looked coolly on the whole enterprise, and would have nothing to do with it unless the undertakers would consent to observe the sabbatical year, pay tithes for the priests and Levites, and make contributions for the elders. These exactions, of course, settle the case, for under the best of circumstances the enterprise would be a losing affair; while thus burdened it cannot be a success. This matter is also alluded to by the aforesaid correspondent from the Holy Land, and we feel it well to have the support of his assertions, which are as follows:

Attempts at Agriculture.

Sir Moses Montefiore has often aided his indigent countrymen, and recently sent a donation to the Judah Touro poor-houses. He is an advocate of the scheme of founding agricultural Jewish colonies in Palestine, and suggested that a fund be raised in London for this object, and thus give employment to worthy Israelites. The success of such an undertaking is doubtful, judging from the attempt that has been made to found an agricultural model farm on the plains of Sharon, under the patronage of the "Alliance Israelite" of Paris. A chief impediment is the fact that the young Jews disdain work so long as they can live upon charity. Much has been made in European journals of the growth of Jerusalem of late by the building of houses outside of the walls. A number of new dwellings have, indeed, been erected on the Jaffa and Bethlehem roads during the last ten years by both Jews and Christians, following the example of the Protestant and Russian missions, which first began to do so. These houses, being built over cisterns of rain-water, are, for the most part, nests of typhus and malarial fevers, and, instead of contributing to the health of the city, have materially added to the prevalent insalubriousness of Jerusalem. In the city itself the soil is so saturated with the accumulated impurities of

past generations that any disturbance of the ground for building purposes invariably engenders malignant fevers. Captain Warren, R. E., and his corps of assistants, while making explorations and excavations in and about Jerusalem, suffered terribly from this cause. The scarcity of pure water is another source of evil at the Holy City, and although an abundant supply could be brought from the ancient pools of Solomon beyond Bethlehem, yet all efforts to repair or rebuild the aqueduct are thwarted by the fanaticism of the Moslem rulers. Baroness Burdett-Coutts offered the municipality £30,000 for this purpose several years ago, but her munificent gift was rejected on the ground that it was "unlawful to receive money from a Christian for the expense of conveying the 'gift of God' [water] to the holy mosque of Omar and to the holy Moslem city 'El Khuds.'"

It is very clear, therefore, that not much is to be expected from the Jews, as regenerators of the Holy Land, and there is not any hope of an improvement in the character of their immigration. As long as they will obstinately bring back the past rather than make an effort to introduce the manifold improvements and methods of the present, so long they will be in the way of any progress in Palestine. Indeed, the land seems cursed with all sorts of burdens; from Turks to Jews there is scarcely an element of its population that is not baneful to it, while its government by the Sultan is simply disgusting. The Turkish rule has no other interest than to farm the country out to tax-gatherers, whose extortions are so fearful that they lie like an Alp on every effort at improvement. If the Grand Turk could be bought out or driven out, and the land placed under an intelligent and progressive rule, it might again be made to blossom as of old. It only needs the *dictum* of the Great Powers to give the Sultan his walking-papers out of Palestine; but as long as these must expend their efforts in keeping up their own political balance, this will not be done. If these Powers were only willing to take Palestine among them, and hold it under an intelligent protectorate, there might also be some light; but as long as the same brutal rule continues there, and the same degraded population curses the land, we may count on nothing good.

Is there, then, no hope for the regeneration of the Holy Land? To this question we reply that we see a ray of light in an honest and intelligent enterprise that seems to have no herald to tell its story to the world. Nothing but new blood and

new ways will effect the purpose, and these, to some extent, have been tried in certain colonies from this and other countries, and have failed. But something more is wanted than even these. The best of capacities must be sustained by a religious zeal and enthusiasm in the work of regenerating the land and preparing it for the second coming of the Lord. And agents of this kind have been silently growing up and gaining experience; and the main object of this article is to call attention to their origin and plans, their struggles, and partial success.

A few years ago there arose in Würtemburg, in Southern Germany, an association of Christian men imbued with the idea that it was their duty to prepare the way of the Lord for his second advent, which they believe will be in the land where he appeared of old. They were under the lead of the venerable Christopher Hoffmann, a most intelligent and enthusiastic divine, who felt himself moved to engage in this work as a special mission To the German Protestant Church they were zealots and hare-brained enthusiasts, and they received but little encouragement. They termed themselves the Friends of Jerusalem, and declared their purpose to be to restore the "spiritual temple of the Lord in the Holy Land." They believe in the literal interpretation of the prophecies which foretell a glorious regeneration of the "Promised Land," whose citizens will not be Israel according to the flesh, but Israel after the Spirit. They believe they can succeed in making Palestine, in a spiritual and material sense, a model kingdom, which will incite all people to its imitation. In this land Christ will again appear in his glory and assume his throne, and will, for his sympathizing and happy children, inaugurate his reign of a thousand years.

Now, whatever may be said of these religious views, they at least inspired in earnest men that enthusiasm necessary for the great undertaking, in which they were encouraged by the King of Prussia, who had assisted in founding a Christian mission in Jerusalem. This, however, was about the only encouragement they received, for the State Church persecuted them, and the revolutions interfered with them, and their government authorities would not give them aid in negotiating with the Sultan for the privilege of settling in the land with protection; for the policy of the Turk always has been to keep all Chris-

tian effort away from Palestine, and until quite recently it was not possible for foreigners to acquire land; they were merely allowed to settle by sufferance, with the understanding that they might be removed at will. Under such conditions it was, of course, not possible to begin, and especially in Jerusalem, where they desired to make a commencement. Besides, an indispensable condition was a certain amount of capital, which their leader hoped to be able to obtain in Germany, Switzerland, Southern Russia, England, and America, and for which he continued to make great efforts by the formation of filial associations in these countries. At last it was resolved to send out a commission which should travel over the Holy Land and study the situation and all questions which could affect the weal or woe of new colonies going thither to settle. This commission returned in about six months with a passably favorable report, but based too much on the enthusiasm of spiritual zeal to be a practical recommendation to commence the work. It was thought best at first to encourage a few small parties to go out on their own responsibility, but under the shield and sympathy of the body, to stay and try their fortune in beginning a work and making a livelihood. Only a few of these were successful, and some met with a very sad fate from mishaps and climatic fevers. But their experience was valuable, and their counsels as to the best spots for settlement were regarded.

Finally, in 1867, it was resolved to make a formal commencement of the enterprise by a governmental organization. A republican constitution was formed; Mr. Hoffmann was chosen leader, and a Mr. Hardegg made his right-hand man. An executive board was appointed from the various associations and agents to oversee the matter of churches, schools, colonization, industry, and commerce. A party went out, headed by Mr. Hoffmann, and they first visited Constantinople, with the hope of obtaining certain concessions from the Sultan; but with all the influence they could bring to bear, nothing could be effected. They therefore decided to proceed to Syria, and soon after founded a post at Haifa, at the base of Carmel. They bargained for a small piece of property not far from the post, where ten or a dozen families might lay the foundation of a settlement for those who might follow. The next move was the establishment of a permanent mission at Jaffa, as the port

of Jerusalem, and the place to which come all travelers on their way to that city. In this they were favored by the opportunity to buy the houses, mills, and other appurtenances of a Russo-German mission which was just retiring, and also the deserted houses of the Adams Colony, from Maine. The "Temple Association" thus rapidly got a start, and immediately proceeded to lay plans for operations and support. Hospitals and schools were needed, and even a hotel, for there was scarcely a decent refuge for the weary tourist in reaching Jaffa going to Jerusalem.

And in the midst of all their practical work, which was first necessary in order to lay a foundation for material existence, they also commenced to lay plans for a school of the higher order, that might train civil officers, physicians, teachers, and preachers, that would harmonize in their views regarding the restoration of Palestine. Their profession of faith and constitution are laid down in a work by Rev. Christopher Hoffmann, bearing the title of "Orient and Occident." In this he develops the Mosaic law as far as it can be harmonized with the present order of things, and finally settles on the practical portions of the moral law and the principles of humanity to guide him as a ruler. Mr. Hoffmann is also the author of several works of a religious and historical character combined, in which he indulges in keen analysis and accurate criticism, viewing the course of history for the last two centuries in the light of religious truth, and showing the growing apostasy of the age. He is a man of very extraordinary intellect, and a writer of no mean powers. His great object now is to fight against the social evils of the day, and lay the foundation of a system that may relieve the world from many of its present burdens and inconsistencies. In over-enthusiastic zeal he advances theories that many may find fault with, but this implicit faith in his system and hope in his work make him and his followers peculiarly adapted to meet and wrestle with the difficult material questions to be encountered in his present undertaking. It is success in this line that now mainly interests the world, and to which we think better to devote our labors. If he can regenerate Palestine he will certainly be accounted a general benefactor; and if his religious zeal gives him a key to interest other men in a discouraging and painful work, we can easily afford to

pass lightly over what the world may consider Utopian, to regard that which every one must see is of great practical good.

If any men can succeed in this work, these are they, for they come to regenerate the Promised Land through the sweat of their brow, and they undertake a task that can be carried out only by such men as martyrs are made of. They have already suffered a great deal, but are not discouraged; and it now appears that great social, religious, and political reforms in the Holy Land may eventually be achieved through them. None of their number are allowed to go there except those who have stood the test of trial and examination in their own country. The association refuses to help or send any who do not exhibit the characteristics needed for utility and success; it is not an ordinary emigration, but rather a species of pilgrimage to a shrine, with a lofty purpose.

The "Friends of Jerusalem" began to establish colonies in the Holy Land in 1868, and there are now there four of these, settled in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa, and Sharon. These came from Germany, the United States, and Russia, in which countries there are congregations of these Christians who have this cause at heart, and from which the fittest are sent to the Holy Land. We may mention Buffalo, Schenectady, and Chicago, as being centers in this country, and the parties concerned are all Germans. These four colonies are virtually under one control, and each may have specialty in its efforts. Nearly all the men who go are hard-working, thrifty men, who know what it is to battle with life. The most of them are agriculturists, and are, therefore, best adapted to what the land most needs; namely, a practical training in the profitable culture of the soil. Their settlements are just outside of the towns at Jaffa and Haifa, where they have an opportunity to raise, besides the ordinary products of the country, many of the desirable vegetables of their native land. On the heights in the rear of Jaffa they have built up their settlement in such a pleasant manner as to attract the attention of the natives and give them an object-lesson of much more value to them than any theories could be. The pleasant gardens and cheerful-looking houses are becoming the envy of the thriftless natives or indolent fellahs, who are said to stand and regard them with a dreamy admiration that indicates a wish on their part to possess some of the same kind.

In Haifa the colony has also made itself so clearly felt in good examples that at the recent death of the valuable leader of that band, Mr. Hardegg, the entire community seemed to join in tokens of mourning. When the day for the funeral ceremonies arrived, the flags of the various consuls were placed at half-mast, and, to the surprise of every body, the colors of the Turkish Pasha also came down. This is probably the first time that a Turk ever noticed the burial of a Christian. In this settlement there was opened in October last a boarding-school of higher order for girls, with some twenty pupils, in which there are several good teachers, undertaking, besides the ordinary branches, the French and English languages, and music. This will be a great blessing for Christian foreigners settled in Palestine, as well as for the Temple Community itself, who have not known hitherto how to have their daughters educated without sending them away to a great distance. The young ladies can take their exercise on the declivity of Carmel, with a charming prospect of the sea and of the snow-capped summits of Hermon. In Jerusalem a lyceum has been established for boys in the same careful way; both under the general supervision of Rev. Mr. Hoffmann, which is security that the education imparted will be of a Christian nature. These institutions greatly need material aid, and they could not be sustained at all without great sacrifice on the part of the teachers and the Association.

The latest colony founded is that on the plains of Sharon, on the site selected and built on by the Mennonites, who abandoned it in a short time because of the unhealthy situation and the difficulty in making it a profitable enterprise. The Temple Association took for a song what was left, and thus obtained a start. The natural supposition would be that this was not advisable, but the result proves that the enthusiasm and resolve of these men will carry them through difficulties under which others will sink. They placed most of their dwellings on a little more elevated ground, and thus escaped the ravages of the fever, to which they are becoming acclimated, and are now working industriously at their problem, which is to improve the agricultural methods in the country. A firm in Buffalo has presented them with a mowing machine, which is the wonder of the Arabian peasants, but which gives them

some trouble because of the difficulty in getting Arabian steeds that will submit to the control needed to use it properly. This is being remedied by procuring a quieter race of horses. The report of their last harvest was quite gratifying. The land is rich, and seems to appeal to the traveler to stop and till it in a sensible manner. The yield of wheat and barley was good, and nearly all the produce of the field was bountiful. Grapes grew plentifully, and the hay harvest was rich, but they lost quite a number of their cattle from the plague. When the harvest was over, several new houses were erected, and the colonists not thus engaged found fairly profitable employment in transporting produce to Jerusalem. Thus it will be seen that the colonists put their hands to every available industry, and so set a valuable example to the thriftless people around them.

The Palestine of to-day has virtually no industrial occupations; the natives are confined to agriculture, cattle-raising, and trade. This was largely so in the olden time, but the land was then fully cultivated and gave forth a multitude of products. The few miserable struggling cities now on the coast, as the remnants of former times, still live on the little commerce that is carried on; but the population every-where is greatly below the ancient figures. There were then, probably, ten millions of people in the land; now scarcely more than three hundred thousand. This is Palestine as ruined by Turkish rule. Jaffa is now a city of about twenty thousand inhabitants, and has a regular connection with Europe by means of the Austrian Lloyd steamers from Trieste, which stop there twice a week. The harbor is very miserable, and mainly useful for small sailing vessels owned by the Greeks, who do most of the coasting trade; and yet this is the port through which most of the trade of Palestine is done. Haifa is mainly the outlet for the grain from the rich plains of Esdraelon and the mountains of Galilee, but its exporting facilities are not what they once were, and a portion of it is a miserable nest. Nevertheless, the Germans are doing much toward its regeneration. Jaffa is about the only port worth mention, and is the outlet for Jerusalem and all cities on the way or contiguous to it. The Valley of the Jordan and the land of the Moabites send their productions hither, and traders, pilgrims, and tourists, all land at Jaffa on their way to the Holy City.

The Temple Association has, therefore, done well to settle at Jaffa and enter into its industries. The city is surrounded by orange gardens for a considerable distance, which are artificially irrigated, and the oranges are largely exported.

The trade of Jaffa is now increasing, and the imports and exports are becoming more various: they receive coal, coffee, iron, sugar, petroleum, etc., from England, France, Italy, and the United States; and in return send out oranges, olive oil, barley, wheat, soap, etc. The Germans are engaging largely in the manufacture of soap from olive oil, and bid fair to build the business up to respectable proportions. It is a very acceptable article for the toilet, and may be procured at reasonable prices of many of the druggists in our cities; it is very solid and lasting, and is growing more popular with every year. The imports of Palestine were in 1878 about $375,000, and the exports $1,500,000. In contact with Europeans the natives must soon learn to raise more and need more, and thus largely increase the trade. With the growing inclination to increase our trade in the Mediterranean and contiguous waters, it would not cost our vessels much more time to go to Palestine with coal in ballast, and bring back cargoes of Oriental fruits, olive oil, and the soap mentioned above. Coal is the great desideratum to progress in Palestine; it is needed for mills and machinery of all kinds on account of the dearth of fuel. Even building timber is brought into Palestine from Turkey and Austria. The era of steam mills is likely to commence now by the enterprise of the German colonists. The last accounts inform us that they are constructing one in Jerusalem, much to the mystification of the natives, who see no water with which to run it. But the fuel will be a far more difficult question than water, and not much can be done in this line until the "coal question" can be settled.

The import trade is almost exclusively in the hands of foreigners, among whom the Germans have two large houses, one in Jerusalem and another in Jaffa. The heaviest import is that of salt, amounting to three millions of pounds, a greater weight than that of all other articles together. The cause of this is, doubtless, the fact that salt is used by all the inhabitants of Palestine, whereas all other imported articles are used only by small portions of the community. Even rice, which is

largely eaten by the inhabitants of the cities, reaches the poor fellah's mouth only as an article of luxury on special occasions. The misery of these poor wretches is said to be nearly indescribable; they work all day for the merest pittance, and quiet their hunger with a few hard cakes baked on stones.

The export trade, on the contrary, is nearly all in the hands of native merchants, who, as land owners and leasers, and money lenders, have the poor fellahs so tightly in their hands that they get but little from their unwilling labors. The fellah seldom owns any land, or if he does he has not often the money wherewith to obtain cattle and seed. He either borrows money, or the cattle and seed are provided for him by the dealer, who in turn demands so much of the crop that the fellah gets scarcely enough for his sternest wants. In this way he seldom succeeds in saving any thing, or, if he does, the Turkish tax-gatherers, to whom the customs are generally farmed out, strip him to his back.

Of the articles of export, olive oil, tilseed for the manufacture of croton oil, and the olive-oil soap are the principal. Olive oil is to-day the leading production of Palestine. The olive-tree is found every-where, and many new plantations are now being started. In the plains is the olive, as on most of the mountains around the villages; it is found on Carmel and around Bethlehem and Jerusalem. The monks of the cloisters are setting out new plantations. The Greek monastery in Jerusalem some time ago bought a waste piece of land for $4,000, and covered it with young olive-trees, and now, in twenty years, they ask over $100,000 for it. This fact shows the capacity of the country if cultivated with energy and thrift.

Palestine is pre-eminently the land of the grape, in certain sections; but as the Moslem drinks no wine, he does not know how to make it, and, therefore, this industry has brought him nothing. But the grape is a very important article of food in the summer months, and what they do not eat they dry for raisins, or use in the manufacture of an excellent grape honey. The ancient grape city of Hebron is still surrounded to great distances with vineyards, which make it one of the prettiest places in Palestine. It is natural that the Germans should utilize the grape for the production of wine, after the manner of their home-life, and they are doing this in the neighborhood of Jaffa,

and especially at their settlement in the plains of Sharon, not far from Jaffa. They raised enough last season for their own use, but some of them are now beginning to acknowledge that in this Oriental land a pint of milk is of more value than a pint of wine—which is a great concession for a German to make—and they are seriously discussing the question whether they will not gain more from their cows than from their wine-presses. It is doubtful whether they will ever make a good wine for export, although they are trying to do so.

One drawback to their success is an occasional bad harvest in certain regions. This has just been the case around the Bay of Acre, by which the colony at Haifa has severely suffered. On the contrary, the colony at Sharon had a very good year for wheat and barley. The Germans are teaching the natives the value of manuring the land, which they entirely neglect. Land from which the Arabian peasants had ceased to get any thing is now bearing such fine crops as to be the admiration of the surrounding country. Last year the olive crop was a partial failure. This was a calamity, for olives are one of the principal articles of food of the fellahs. They are soaked in salt water and eaten with bread. Another curse of Palestine is the cattle pest. Owing to the carelessness of the government in regard to repressive measures, the disease rages over all the land, so that at certain periods there are no cattle for the agricultural work or for slaughter; mutton is, therefore, the principal article of animal food; but fowls are plenty, and the forests furnish the wild boar. The Germans are meeting these troubles like intelligent agriculturists, and are making vigorous efforts to counteract the difficulties which they meet; and their success in proving that this Promised Land may again become one of milk and honey with intelligent care and treatment, is calling the attention of local authorities to their labors. The English embassador, Layard, on his recent visit to Palestine, honored them with a call, inspected their labors and their settlements, broke bread with them, and wished them great success. Some of the most intelligent American teachers and missionaries that have visited them—men, for instance, like Drs. Vandyke and Long—have said very kind and encouraging words to them, and bid them go on in spite of the many discouragements. In short, we think it

fair to say that it is the general impression of those who study the case, that if Palestine is ever to be regenerated these are the men to do it.

In the theoretical study of Palestine and its scientific exploration the German *savants* have been active for many years. It was our rare opportunity years ago to hear that distinguished German professor at the University of Berlin, Carl Ritter, discourse on the Physical Geography of Palestine, after a scientific visit thither. He filled his hearers with a measure of his own enthusiasm, which has borne fruits, and since then the German mind has been closely engaged with the subject of Palestinean exploration, in its scientific aspects. Tobler has gained the reputation of being among the most learned of the Palestine explorers, and other noble names are arranged by his side, which, however, are but little known outside of Germany. The reason of this may be partially found in the fact that nearly all these men were poor, and most of them did what they did with their own scanty means, which were often too limited to secure a worthy publication of the results of their labors. Thus in the practical exploration of Palestine the Germans were not abreast of other nations, and their scientists have been obliged to stand in the background as mute observers of the work, or to be satisfied to point to harvests for others to garner. But they have watched the expeditions of the French, English, and Americans with careful eyes, and are well aware of the labors of Robinson, Van de Velde, Lynch, Sauley, and a host of others. They have looked with admiration at the exploration funds that have been raised in other nations, and have enjoyed, without jealousy, their valuable results in the various works lately published on the exploration of Palestine.

In view of these results there has arisen in Germany a desire to unite all their forces for the exploration of Palestine. Their own national regeneration and the high respect that the German consulates now enjoy in Oriental lands give them much reason to hope that the time has arrived when they, too, can join the bands that are intent on investigating and restoring the land. About three years ago some German professors in Basle and Tübingen conceived the idea of establishing also a society for the exploration of Palestine. They constituted themselves as an executive committee provisionally,

and succeeded in obtaining a score or so of others who were willing to join them; among these latter, some persons of high position in the government, such as the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg and the famous soldier Von Moltke. They met at Wiesbaden, and formed an association, with a business committee, consisting of Kersten of Berlin and Guthe of Leipsic. This committee are now publishing, in Leipsic, a periodical devoted to the interests of Palestine, which is sent to the two hundred and fifty members of the association, who pay yearly only the small sum of two dollars and fifty cents as membership fees, which includes also the price of the periodical. The object of the association is the publication of all new and interesting knowledge gained in the matter of exploration, and the founding of a fund for self-labor of their own members. The Emperor of Germany and the Crown Prince, as well as the King of Würtemberg, are among the patrons, and the Emperor of Austria has also subscribed liberally to the funds of the society. Among the scholars who take a special interest in it are such men as Delitzsch and Ebers, in Leipsic, and Kiepert, in Berlin. All the German consuls in the Holy Land are also members.

The first volume of the proceedings has been issued, consisting of four numbers, and it is very rich with the contributions of its members. Nearly every field of labor in the exploration is well represented by text and engravings. We need scarcely say that the maps are very fine, as Kiepert has had them in charge. One of the members of the society lives in Jerusalem, and he is regarded as the most critical judge of all its topographical relations. He is the architectural member of the Turkish authorities there, and in all investigations that are made he has the best opportunity for information. The Germans hope for great success through this undertaking, and are desirous of extending its patronage beyond the limits of their country. They have thus fairly entered the arena of learned rivalry as well as that of practical regeneration. We are confident that their efforts in both spheres will be attended with success. The very foundation of these industrial and agricultural colonies on their part gives them a point of support that is very desirable in the work of regenerating this impoverished and desolate land, though in itself so rich and promising. And he who looks with reverence and love to the

land where our Saviour mingled with men and imparted to them his divine teachings, must gather new hope for its restoration to civilization and humanity, knowing the sturdy efforts that are now being made by men of pious enthusiasm and Christian zeal to introduce a better state of things. They are teaching by example as well as precept, and they have come to conquer or perish in the attempt. They are of the stuff of which martyrs are made, and if any can succeed in this much-needed work, they are these men.

Art. IV.—ECUMENICAL METHODISM.

Methodism, in an organic condition, is in America—in the United States, in Canada, and in Mexico; in Europe—in the British Isles and on the Continent; in Africa; in Asia—in the great empires of India, China, and Japan; and in Australasia, where it has a General Conference with four Annual Conferences. Methodism has more than one hundred thousand itinerant and local ministers, nearly five millions of lay members, and a community filling its congregations and subject to its influence of not less than twenty, and possibly reaching twenty-five, millions. Methodism speaks almost every language, has its adherents of every complexion, gathers its trophies in all lands, and unfurls its conquering banner beneath every sky. It publishes books, newspapers, and tracts, by the million, in the different tongues spoken or read by its myriad converts. It is found, with its peculiar institutions and distinctive usages, on every continent and in almost every quarter of the globe.

In all its history Methodism has been a doctrinal unity. It has had no divisions or secessions because of dogmas. The avowed object of all its branches has been the maintenance of the spiritual life, the spread of scriptural holiness, and the conversion of sinners. Whoever has known Methodism in any of its forms would at once recognize it in whatever form it exists. It is English, American, African, Asiatic, Australasian; Episcopal and non-Episcopal, cultured and uncultured; finding its adherents in the highest and in the lowest classes of society; worshiping in splendid churches, in the rudest structures, and

in the open fields; but always and every-where it has the same distinctive features.

It is remarkable that Methodism, despite its doctrinal unity, oneness of purpose, substantial harmony of usages and common spiritual life, should, nevertheless, be broken into more than a score of independent fragments. It is not our purpose to trace the history of these various organizations. Some of them have resulted from political convulsions, some have come in the order of national growth and independency, and some from an avowed purpose to maintain primitive Methodism in its purity and power. Not one of them has been a departure, in purpose or fact, from the essential doctrines and usages of Methodism. It is, doubtless, true that some of these bodies have no sufficient reason for a separate existence, and that a waste of means and energies has resulted, in some instances, from the presence, in the same locality, of different and rival Methodist organizations.

The special need of Methodism, however, is not, in our judgment, an organic union, or the reduction of these fragmentary bodies into two or three, or a half dozen, or even a half score, great continental communions. What is required, as a condition of the largest Methodistic success, is not consolidation, but confederation. We need a holy league and covenant, in spirit if not in letter, binding all the branches of the one Methodist family together, to do the work and fulfill the mission assigned us by the great Head of the Church. We need to feel more deeply that we are one people, and "a band of brothers every-where." We need some practical system of co-operation, especially in our mission fields. We need the strength and encouragement which come from the assurance that every part of the grand movement is in harmony with every other part, and that all are working together from a common impulse, and to secure a common triumph. We need to give such visible expression to our invisible unity, "that the world may believe" that we have a common spiritual life, and that we are one with Christ as he is one with the Father.

It was, doubtless, because of convictions such as these that the General Conference of 1876 resolved in favor of an Ecumenical Conference of Methodism; declared its judgment that such a Conference would tend in many ways to a closer alliance,

a warmer fraternity, and a fuller co-operation among the various Methodist organizations for the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom in all parts of the earth; ordered the appointment of a committee to take the whole subject into consideration, to correspond with different Methodist bodies, and to endeavor to arrange for such Ecumenical Conference; and empowered said committee to speak on this subject, for and in the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. The committee, selected by the Bishops, and constituted as the General Conference had directed, of two Bishops, four other ministers, and three laymen, was as follows:

Bishops.—Rev. Matthew Simpson, D.D., LL.D., of Philadelphia, Pa.; and Rev. Edward R. Ames, D.D., LL.D., of Baltimore, Md.

Other ministers.—Rev. Augustus C. George, D.D., of Central New York Conference; Rev. Lorenzo D. Barrows, D.D., of New Hampshire Conference; Rev. Park S. Donelson, D.D., of Central Ohio Conference; and Rev. Isaac N. Baird, D.D., of Pittsburgh Conference.

Laymen.—Hon. J. W. Marshall, of Washington, District of Columbia; Hon. James Harlan, of Mount Pleasant, Iowa; and Francis H. Root, Esq., of Buffalo, New York.

Rev. Bishop Edward R. Ames, D.D., LL.D., and Rev. Lorenzo D. Barrows, D.D., having deceased, the Board of Bishops appointed in their places Rev. Bishop Jesse T. Peck, D.D., LL.D., and Rev. James Pike, D.D.

It appears, from the report of this Committee, submitted to the recent General Conference, that the proposed Ecumenical Council has received the approval of the Methodist Protestant Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the American Wesleyan Church, the Evangelical Association, and the African Methodist Episcopal Church—all of the United States; the Methodist Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada, and the British Wesleyan Conference of England. In November, 1879, the Committee published a card in all the papers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and requested its publication in all the Methodist journals of the world, reciting in brief the above-named facts, and concluding as follows:

It seems now to be necessary that there should be a joint meeting of these committees, or of their chairmen, or of some one or

more persons authorized to act in their stead, to prepare a call for such Ecumenical Conference, determining the time and place of meeting, suggesting a basis of representation, and providing for essential preliminary details. We would, therefore, respectfully propose that such joint meeting be held in the city of Cincinnati, May 6, 1880; and we express our earnest desire that it may be attended, not only by the representatives of the several Methodist bodies which have taken action in favor of an Ecumenical Conference, but also, as far as practicable, by authorized representatives of all other Methodist organizations in every part of the world. We would, furthermore, call on all Christians, and especially on all Methodists, to offer, continually, fervent prayers to Almighty God, that he may be pleased to further this godly design with his blessing, so that it may redound to his glory, and may result in a large increase of the spirituality, unity, and prosperity of his Church, and the more speedy conversion of the world to our Lord Jesus Christ.

In accordance with this summons, delegates assembled in St. Paul's Church, Cincinnati, representing the British Wesleyan Conference, the Irish Methodist Conference, the Methodist Church of Canada, the Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada, the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Protestant Church, the Free Methodist Church, the American Wesleyan Church, and the Independent Methodist Church. Rev. William Arthur, A.M., of England, presided over this holy convocation, and diffused through it much of his sweet, Christian spirit. The convention was fraternal, devout, earnest, harmonious, and unanimous in its conclusions. The final result reached, after a number of meetings, the freest and fullest consultation, and frequent seasons of fervent and united prayer in which the Holy Spirit was manifestly present, was expressed in a "call" for a Methodist Ecumenical Conference, to be composed of four hundred members, and to meet in City Road Chapel, London, if found practicable, in August, 1881. This "call," which provides all the necessary machinery for carrying out its great purpose, was signed by every person composing the Conference, or joint committee meeting. It has attached to it the names of William Arthur and F. W. Macdonald, of England; of Wallace M'Mullen, of Ireland; of Bishops Simpson and Peck, of the Methodist Episcopal Church; of Bishops Doggett and M'Tyeire, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; and of others, both clerical and lay, scarcely

less distinguished and honored. This "call" for a Methodist Ecumenical Council concludes as follows:

In conclusion, we desire to express our devout thanksgiving to the God and Father of all our mercies for the favor which he has been pleased thus far to show to this truly catholic movement, and especially for the spirit of forbearance, charity, and brotherly love which has prevailed in all our councils. We fervently pray that the blessing of Almighty God may rest upon our work and upon his people, and eminently upon every branch of the great Methodist family; and that this proposed Methodist Ecumenical Conference may be brought to a glorious consummation, and may be made fruitful of blessings to all mankind.

That there has been, in the last quadrennium, a great growth in the Church of the Ecumenical idea, is evident from a number of facts. In the General Conference of 1876 the proposition for a Methodist Ecumenical Council was referred to the "Committee on the State of the Church," where it was received with doubt, questionings, and suspicion. When amended "as to its title and phraseology," the word "Council" being struck out and the word "Conference" inserted, and reported favorably by the Committee, "with the recommendation that it be adopted," its provisions met with earnest opposition on the floor of the Conference; and it only prevailed, through the strenuous exertions of its original mover, by a vote of one hundred and twenty-seven to seventy-four. Some of the ablest men in the Church, who were recognized leaders in the Conference, were included in the negative vote.

There was quite a different state of things in the General Conference of 1880. The work of the Committee having this matter in hand, and the discussions of the Press, had not been wholly unfruitful. The hearty, favorable responses of other Methodist bodies had produced their natural results. Fraternity was in the air, and "syllables and soundings" came from every quarter in the direction of a Methodist Council. Every body seemed to discern that "Ecumenical" was not now the symbol of Roman power or of Papal pretension. The word *οικουμενη ecumenical*, the whole human race, the habitable world, is, indeed, a word having the sanction of frequent New Testament use. To preach the gospel of the kingdom, *ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ, in the whole habitable world*, (Matt. xxiv, 14,) to spread scriptural holiness throughout all lands, to carry the glad tidings to

every house and to every soul, is the precise genius and mission of Methodism. "The world is my parish," said Mr. Wesley, and Ecumenical Methodism is a recognition of the accepted truth. The one grand, world-wide revival movement which, like the ocean, has sent its waves to all shores, must of necessity have a tidal re-flow toward some common center.

The Bishops, in their quadrennial Address, referred to the steps taken to secure a Methodist Ecumenical Conference, and added: "The measure thus inaugurated, it is hoped, will be consummated, and will add to the strength, influence, and unity of the Methodist family of Churches." The Address of the British Wesleyan Conference, signed, on behalf and by order of that body, by Benjamin M. Gregory, President, and Marmaduke Clark Osborne, Secretary, closed with these memorable words:

> The proposals which we have received from your Committee that an Ecumenical Conference of the various Methodist bodies in Great Britain, the United States, the Dominion of Canada, and other countries, be held for the purpose of considering the position and work of the people called Methodists, have been favorably reported upon by the Committee appointed to consider them, and communications are now proceeding which will, we trust, issue in the realization of this important project. Much wisdom will be needed to mature and guide so great an undertaking.
>
> In conclusion, dear brethren, we renew to you the sincerest assurances of our Christian esteem and affection. We rejoice in every indication of growing unity in the universal Church of Christ, but with the most abundant welcome do we hail any movement that tends to bring closer together the kindred Churches that had their origin in the large-hearted charity and world-embracing zeal of John Wesley. The substantial unity of Methodism the world over is a providential fact of the profoundest significance.
>
> We would cherish whatever promotes the recognized oneness of all the Methodist Churches; not in visible organic union—that need not be—but in fraternal alliance and the bonds of common service and sympathy. Grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied unto you from God our Father, and from Jesus Christ our Lord!

In the fraternal message of the Irish Methodist Church, this paragraph occurs:

> We heard with great satisfaction of the suggestions for the holding of an Ecumenical Methodist Conference, which you have submitted to the consideration of the British Conference. We have no doubt that the holding of such a Conference, under suit-

able conditions, would "tend in many ways to a closer alliance," a warmer fraternity, and a fuller co-operation among the various branches of the great Methodist family. We hope to hear, in due time, that any practical difficulties which may seem to lie in the way of carrying out your proposals have been overcome, and that the Conference will be held. We shall be glad to co-operate in any way in our power.

Rev. William Arthur, A.M., the fraternal delegate of the British Wesleyan Conference, in his stirring and eloquent address, said:

Allusion has been made to the proposal that has emanated from you for an ecumenical gathering of Methodists from all the world. We should like that gathering to take place where the Methodist Society originated. We should like it to take place at City Road, where John Wesley, Charles Wesley, and Joseph Benson preached, where the first Conferences were held, and where the cradle of Methodism will always be spoken of, and that with interest more profound as time advances. I speak now not merely of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but for a moment I think of all the other branches scattered throughout the world. Whatever name they may have adopted for themselves, they had the Methodist origin; and I like the name; and we should link them all together, and see if by the blessing of God we cannot, in such a meeting, so take counsel one with another, that we shall, every man, go away, one to India, one to Italy, and one to the Caffirs of the Cape, one to the negroes of Monrovia, and another to Hudson's Bay, and to California, and Japan, and China, to Rome, and so on right around the world, telling our people every-where we may go that, being many, we are one! I trust that one we shall remain, and become more and more conscious of our oneness.

Rev. A. G. Haygood, D.D., fraternal messenger from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in his address to the General Conference, dwelt largely on this subject, and among other things, said:

Before closing this address I may add that our people have looked forward to this General Conference with deep interest, not only because it is in itself a most important and influential assemblage of Christian men, met to consider of affairs vital to the Church, but chiefly because, here and now, the first practical steps are to be taken for bringing about an Ecumenical Conference of universal Methodism.

It is a grand conception, Mr. President, that honors the heart and mind that first suggested it. It will honor, also, the hearts and minds of those who, under God, may so guide the development of this great idea as to realize the large possibilities that this scheme involves.

Let this greater Conference be held. Let representatives—the wisest and holiest of them all—be present from every Methodist family in the world. And this Conference, my brethren, will be held. So great a thought as this, of a Pan-Methodist Conference, that may confer, in brotherly love and confidence, in the spirit of mutual helpfulness, concerning all the interests of Methodism, and that, so conferring, must help forward all these interests—a thought so great as this, with so much wisdom and faith and Christian love in it, was not born to die.

Such a Conference might, as it seems to me, bring to each one of our Methodisms the momentum of the whole body; might impart to each the larger views and higher inspiration of the whole confederation, but would, at the same time, preserve intact the autonomy of each, thus leaving each one of the Methodist household to fulfill, without hinderance, its providential mission to the world.

We trust that this General Conference will devise and accomplish many wise and excellent things for the Church, that it will be long remembered for the blessings that followed it; but will not its relations to Ecumenical Methodism give it its chief historic glory and importance? I cannot doubt that in every country where Methodism has a foothold, there are ascending prayers for the divine blessing upon the deliberations to be had in this city, preliminary to the assembling of a Pan-Methodist Conference that will consider of the affairs of universal Methodism, and of the greater affairs of our common Christianity.

When that Conference meets, when the English Methodisms, Irish Methodism, the Methodisms of the Canadas, of Australasia, India, China, Europe, and the many Methodisms of our great Union—Episcopal and non-Episcopal, Caucasian and African—when all these brothers meet together to advise, to bless, and to help each other, then will the ascended fathers say, with deeper emphasis and larger meaning than the words ever bore before, "What hath God wrought!" . . . Pardon me, Mr. President and brethren, for alluding once more to the mission work of our Churches. If any thing worthy is to come out of our fraternity and our Ecumenical Conferences, surely one result will be a vast increase of our faith and zeal and enterprise in the work of converting the many millions of the heathen world. Vain is our boast of more than four millions of Methodists, if, when we are drawn together in the bonds of Christian brotherhood, we do not realize the greatness both of our opportunity and responsibility.

Rev. Edward B. Ryckman, D.D., fraternal delegate from the Methodist Church of Canada, said:

This Ecumenical Conference is the noblest attempt ever yet made to give visible expression of our Methodistic unity, and it will arrest the attention, attract the sympathy, and call forth the prayers, of thousands upon thousands of Methodists who, although

separated by wide distances, some of them by intervening oceans, are yet one in doctrine, one in spirit, one in the love of a common work. May our geographical separation be the most serious that shall ever divide us! The result of such a Conference must be good. Whether the subjects of discussion be general, such as the right way of maintaining the sanctity of the Sabbath, or disseminating a healthful Christian literature, or promoting revivals of religion, or training the young to an early consecration to God and his service in every department of Christian work, or, if the subjects should be more particular, a mutual agreement as to the partition of the mission field so as to take possession of the world for Christ in the most systematic and expeditious manner possible, the possibility of a Pan-Methodist hymn book, the practicability of a confederation of all the Methodist bodies under the shining sun of heaven on a well-understood fraternal basis, we shall have the prayers of all good men and the blessings of the Head of the Church.

The elaborate report of the Ecumenical Conference Committee was ordered printed in the "Daily Christian Advocate," and also in the Journal of the General Conference. The report of the Joint Committee, summoning an Ecumenical Council, was accorded a similar honor. The General Conference also adopted resolutions, providing for the appointment of two members of the Executive Committee, to perfect arrangements for the Council, and authorizing the Bishops of the Church to select the delegates to the Ecumenical Conference. Nothing more is needed in the way of legislation, or necessary pre-arrangement, to bring this grand undertaking to a happy consummation.

Not the least notable of the public services held during the session of the General Conference were those arranged and carried out by the Ecumenical Committee. In accordance with the request of the Committee, Rev. William Arthur preached in St. Paul's Church, May 9, from the words, "One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all," discussing Christian unity as resting on two things; first, a common nature, and, secondly, a common origin. Said Mr. Arthur:

> Let all Methodists love one another and promote harmony, which will, in time, bring unity. The world has need of our light. Let the Bishops of the South strive with the Bishops of the North, and the laymen of each section strive with each other, striving *together*, and not against each other. God send us the day of unity! God grant us this day an antepast of this union,

and of the time when all the world shall be compelled to say that Christians love one another!

The Monday night following there was a meeting of great interest, devoted to prayer, brief addresses, and sacred songs. Bishop Simpson presided, assisted by Rev. William Arthur, Bishop D. S. Doggett, Rev. Wallace M'Mullen, and Rev. Dr. E. B. Ryckman. Remarks were made by Rev. E. H. Dewart, of the Methodist Church of Canada; Rev. F. W. Macdonald, of the British Wesleyan Conference; Rev. W. Nast, D.D., "the father of German Methodism;" Rev. B. Lane, A.M., of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada; Rev. J. G. Mitchell, D.D., of the African Methodist Episcopal Church; J. H. Carlisle, LL.D., of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; Hon. Charles J. Baker, of the Independent Methodist Church; Rev. N. Wardner, of the American Wesleyan Church; Babu Ram Chandra Bose, lay delegate from North India to the General Conference; and by Dr. J. B. M'Ferrin, Bishop Doggett, and Rev. William Arthur. We quote one paragraph from Mr. Arthur, which is decidedly ecumenical in its strain. He said:

> I thank God for what I have seen to-night; I thank God that we have had here different colors and accents and nationalities. I thank God for the German accent; I thank God for the black complexion; I thank God for the Hindu complexion. Methodism was born with the word upon its lips, "The world is my parish." That was its birth-cry. There is a vast deal of its parish into which it has never set foot. We sometimes say that Methodism is to be found in all the world. Aye, aye, found in all the world the same as gas lamps are to be found in all America. They are here and there, but there is many an acre, many a mountain, and many a valley, where there is no gas lamp. We have only begun; but, thank God, we are a band of brothers every-where. We may be Anglo-Saxons, Hindus, Negroes, Caffirs, Malays and New Zealanders, and yet we are a common brotherhood.

This meeting, attended by the representative men of so many different Methodist bodies, will, doubtless, be productive of wide-spread and glorious results.

Such a movement as this proposed Methodist Ecumenical Conference will have to be guarded against many perils. It may degenerate into a mutual admiration society. It may waste itself in gush and glorification of Methodism. It may

fall into the hands of ambitious men, seeking chiefly for distinction. It may prove to be more social than devout. Methodists need to remember that in holding this Council they are placing themselves and their Church in the focus of the world's observation. Methodism will be on exhibition, and will be studied, scanned, and criticised as never before in its history. There is no place in such a Council for platitudes, and no demand for oratory. There is some practical, earnest work to be done which will benefit the Church and hasten the glad hour of the world's redemption. This object, this chiefly, this only, now demands the brain and heart of Methodism. Mr. Gladstone, in his short speech after his great Mid-Lothian victory, said:

> What we have now to show, gentlemen, is that we can use the strength which we have shown ourselves to possess, and that we can turn the victory we may be said to have obtained both here and elsewhere to good account for the common and universal benefit of our country.

So, in this Ecumenical Council, Methodism, now conceded to have strength and ability to achieve noted triumphs, must demonstrate to the world that she can use her resources wisely, that she can turn her victories to good account, and that she has learned how to employ her wealth, culture, influence, piety, organic life, and practical expedients, for the benefit of mankind. Great responsibility rests on those who have the authority to appoint the delegates to this Conference, and even greater, perhaps, on the general Executive Committee, which must make a programme of exercises, indicate the topics to be considered, and select the men who are to present them to the Council.

Methodism is not only world-wide in extent, but many-sided in development and Christian work. To carry religion into all the affairs of life and to make every secular thing sacred, has been its fundamental purpose. Methodism, therefore, has vital relations to the home, to the school, to citizen-duties, to reforms, and to all missionary modes. Methodism has peculiar means of evangelization, such as camp-meetings, an itinerant ministry, and the employment of the lay element in the Church for the performance of certain ministerial and pastoral work. How far these may need to be modified or adjusted, so as to secure the greatest efficiency, are legitimate questions for an

Ecumenical Conference. How Methodist unity may be maintained, increased, and made manifest to the world, is an inquiry of great importance. It is possible that a common psalmody, a common liturgy and order of worship, co-operation in missionary work, the perpetuation of a general executive committee, a pastoral address to the Methodism of the world, and Ecumenical Conferences at stated periods, are among the things contributing to that end which may be realized. The safety of small craft in a turbulent sea will not, perhaps, be increased by having them lashed together; but they ought to be within hailing distance of each other, and to have a well-understood system of signs and signals, to which each and all will be ready to respond. Methodism cannot afford to have her smallest ship sink, while there are abundant resources in the whole squadron to bring every galley which floats her flag at its mast-head safely into the harbor. We heartily concur in the conclusion, reached by the Committee of Correspondence, that a Methodist Ecumenical Conference, while not imperiling the autonomy of any society, "would produce a salutary visible unity; would bring the stimulation and strength of a great growing body to each of the several parts; would secure a wiser and less wasteful expenditure of the resources and energies of the Church; would make the practical experience of each body the property of all; would demonstrate the adaptation of Methodism to every demand of Christ's cause in every part of the earth; would combine the strength and influence of all Wesleyan organizations against the giant sins and wrongs of the age; and would impart new impulses of spiritual life to Christendom and the world."

This ultimate Protestant unity—the practical co-operation of all who are in Jesus Christ by faith—must be kept constantly in view as the great object to be realized. This is the convincing argument for the Messiahship of Jesus. "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." To show that love to the world is the business of Christendom. When it does this, thoroughly and effectually, the world will speedily be saved. "Great as the Presbyterian Church may be," said Professor Patton, in his sermon before the General Assembly, "in that for which she is distinguished, she is greater still in that which she shares in common with the Christian

world." So also of Methodism. Great as this movement is, in its peculiar usages and distinctive features, and worthy as it is when thus considered of the world's study, it is greater still as the conservation of the common orthodoxy of Christendom, as a revival of that spiritual life which is possessed, to a greater or less degree, by all bodies of Christians, and as an aggressive agency against that Antichrist, in whatever form revealed, which is the deadly antagonist of the whole Church of God.

We shall only discover the true and wide significance of such convocations as the Pan-Anglican Convention, in Lambeth; the Pan-Presbyterian Convention, in Edinburgh and in Philadelphia; and the Methodist Ecumenical Conference, in City Road Chapel, London; when we see that the ultimate consummation must be a confederation of Churches, a practical union of the several tribes of our Israel in one godly commonwealth, a spiritual and powerful republic, which shall demonstrate to the world that the invisible and divine oneness of all who are in Christ, of whatever denominational name, is more real, effective, and available for the maintenance and extension of the truth of God and the victory of the cross in all lands, than any enforced uniformity in doctrine or discipline, or any array of ecclesiastical machinery with a pretended infallible head. When Anglican Episcopal Convention, Presbyterian Pan-Council, Methodist Ecumenical Conference, world-wide Baptist Association, and other bodies of similar import, can speak in the name and with the authority of the great Churches which they represent, there will soon come to be, not only a growing feeling of fraternity, but also more practical exhibitions of the common brotherhood of worship, work, and warfare for the common object of the world's evangelization. In a word, our children will see, if we do not, a *Parliament of Protestantism*, aiming not at uniformity, but rejoicing in spiritual unity, helping the coming, and heralding the advent of the millennial glory.

It is a mistake to suppose that this Protestant unity will be at the expense or sacrifice of denominational integrity. The several bodies of Christians will still exult in all that is grand and heroic in their history, will still cling to their respective confessions of faith, and will still maintain their own peculiar forms and usages; but every one will admit every other one's

right to be, and every one will discover that no single Church organization has all the excellencies, or has found out all the best appliances, for doing the Lord's work. The same spirit will prevail which characterized that memorable Church Council of which we have an account in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, that only council which had the right to say, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us," and uniformity will not be exacted, and no unnecessary burdens will be imposed; but liberty will be guaranteed, and diligence in doing the work of the Lord will be enjoined. "The multitude of them" will not be of one name or of one belief, but they will be "of one heart and of one soul;" and the more persistently they speak the same thing, the less will there be of divisions, σχισματα, among them, and the more closely and lovingly and perfectly will they be "joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment." 1 Cor. i, 10. All that is needed to this glorious consummation is the catholicity of Archdeacon Hare, when he asserts, "If the body holds to the one Head, and is connected by the one faith, and is sanctified by the one baptism, it is a Church before God;" the self-sacrificing love of Calvin, expressed in the words, "I should not hesitate to cross ten seas, if by this means holy communion might prevail among the members of Christ;" and the brotherly spirit and wise, statesmanly evangelism of Wesley, revealed in his declaration, "I desire to have a league, offensive and defensive, with every soldier of Christ." An organic union, even of Churches of the same faith and order, is not the objective point of our endeavors; but that we may all discern the things in which we agree, the precious treasures which we hold in common, the one grand indivisible work which we have to accomplish, and the completeness which we realize and manifest more and more as we grow up into Christ, our living Head. With this discernment will come a Pentecostal baptism, an increased strength and fervor of religious experience, a more aggressive movement against the powers of darkness, greater spiritual successes in all lands, and a speedier inauguration of the new earth and heaven.

Art. V.—THE GREECE OF TO-DAY.

New Greece. By Lewis Sargeant.
Finley's Greek Revolution.
The Hellenic Factor in the Eastern Problem. By Hon. Wm. E. Gladstone, M.P.

Among the nations of antiquity Greece, though not the largest of the galaxy, is the brightest and most attractive. It has been her peculiarity and boast to be a microcosm of letters and art, of refinement and eloquence. Though often eclipsed and clouded like the sun, her nationality has never been destroyed. She has buffeted with hostile peoples, overcoming and being overcome, from the earliest times, but in the midst of saddest vicissitudes her spirit and genius have survived and reappeared. To-day, after three hundred years of barbaric Turkish rule, she lifts her proud head among the powers of Europe, like the little horn in Daniel's vision, and forces recognition as a factor in the Eastern Question that cannot be eliminated or waved aside. Though denied a representation in the person of a Greek embassador by the great powers at the Congress of Berlin, in 1878, she yet compelled a concession and recommendation from that imperial body that her domain shall be enlarged to an extent corresponding nearly with her ancient territorial limits.

No intelligent tourist considers his European or Oriental trip complete until he has seen Greece, and especially Athens, its capital. Nor is this country a point of attraction to the idle and curious merely, who travel for personal gratification or in search of health. Thinkers, historians, statesmen, and Christians are looking at Greece at the present moment with absorbing interest and exhilarating hope. Mr. Gladstone, by some thought to be the greatest living statesman, has recently written an important article on Greece for the "Contemporary Review," taking the ground, as Daniel Webster did before him, that natural right and political justice require that her national independence should be conceded and guaranteed. The leading writers of England are in deep sympathy with the Hellenic cause. There is scarcely a number of the many stately "Reviews" of that country that does not contain an exhaustive discussion of some aspect of the Greek problem. And in all the diplomatic consultations it obtrudes itself. It is the "irrepressible conflict."

Modern Greece has magnified itself into so great importance that historians have begun to make it a subject of distinct history. Greece was taken and subjugated by the Turks under the lead of Omar in 1455. It continued an integral part of the Ottoman Empire until the treaty of Adrianople, in 1829, when she rose in heroic desperation and threw off the despotic yoke, and became again free by the aid of Great Britain. Finley gives a full account of this struggle in his work entitled "Finley's History of the Greek Revolution." More recently another book has appeared, under the title "New Greece."

This author deals especially with resuscitated Greece. It is a picture of the late progress, the present prosperous condition and future prospects, of the Hellenic people. Thus Greece, like a magnet, is drawing to herself the thought and press of Europe. We may judge of the character of a nation by the literature which it inspires and of which it makes itself the subject. Nobody writes a history of Spain or Turkey now, unless it be a recital of horrors or misrule, to show why neither should exist longer.

No full-orbed picture can be given of Greece except from personal observation. We approached it from the north and west on a vessel of the Peninsular and Oriental Line of English steamers that ply between Venice and Egypt. Starting from Venice, we steamed down the Adriatic into the Mediterranean direct for Alexandria. Taking this course, our track lay in a curve around an important part of Greece, and necessitated our skirting the coast for a day and a half. Late in the evening of our third day out, gray barren hills capped with snow made their appearance to the left. It was the island of Corfu, where the English made their governmental head-quarters from 1815 to 1864, when, under the administration of Mr. Gladstone, England surrendered this, with six other islands, to Greece.

Sailing onward, another island comes in sight, of similar configuration and general aspect. It is Cephalonia. And still another. It is Zante. And what are all these craggy peaks in the ocean, denuded of vegetation and tipped with snow? They are three of the seven famous Ionian islands, which gave one of the three dialects to the classic Greek tongue, and contributed much in the days of their greatest importance and prosperity to the glory of Athens and of ancient Greece, and by competition

so excited the jealousy of Corinth as to become one of the causes of the Peloponnesian war. The next morning we found ourselves gliding in full view of a long range of mountains still wearing the turban of snow on their brow, diversified by ravines and small towns hanging on the hill-sides, or nestling down in the valleys, or hugging the sea, so nearly on a level with the water as to be scarcely visible. This is the mainland of Greece, now called the Morea, anciently styled the Peloponnesus. It is a peninsula connected with the continent by an isthmus six miles wide, on which the ancient city of Corinth was located, and where, three miles distant, on the coast of the Gulf of Corinth, is found the miserable town of New Corinth, where we spent the Sabbath in coming from Kalamaki.

Since the earthquake of 1858 nothing remains of the voluptuous city of ancient Corinth, except two dilapidated and broken columns. The imposing mountain peak called Acro-Corinthus, a part of the original site of the city, and which overlooked the center of the city proper, still stands, in spite of wars and earthquakes. On the rear-side it slopes to the sea-level, and is ascended by a winding carriage-way. This grand and virgin summit of nature is cursed with the historic memory that it was the seat of legalized licentiousness, and the spot where a thousand corrupted women were supported by the Government. It stands in frowning silence, and looks down upon the devastation below, seeming to say, "The wages of sin is death."

This our first view of Greece at the point of junction between the Adriatic and the Mediterranean was unfavorable. It impressed us as broken, rocky, barren, without trees or vegetation of any kind, and yet we were told the soil was productive under the hand of cultivation. From this we saw no more of Greece until we reached the classic isles from Smyrna on the east.

We weighed anchor from Smyrna at five o'clock in the evening, and the next day at one P.M. we touched at Syra. Syra is the chief sea-port town of Greece. At this point all the large ships stop, which run in the trade of Constantinople and the ports of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. They do not go up the Saronic bay to Athens, but take on and discharge their Grecian freight at this place. The town of Syra is built on a steep hill-side stretching up from the water's edge to a dizzy height. A large proportion of the houses are new and white,

which gives the place a gay and showy appearance, especially in the moonlight. This results from the fact that the atmosphere of Greece is not murky, like that of England and Germany, but clear and transparent, like that of Syria and Egypt. This imparts to the Grecian sky that high and spacious aspect and deep-blue tinge described by Byron:

> "Yet are thy skies as blue, thy crags as wild,
> Sweet are thy groves and verdant are thy fields,
> Thine olive ripe as when Minerva smiled,
> And still his honeyed wealth Hymethus yields;
> There the blithe bee his fragrant fortress builds,
> The free-born wanderer of the mountain air;
> Apollo still thy long, long summer gilds,
> Still in his beams Mendeli's marbles glare;
> Art, Glory, Freedom fail, but Nature still is fair."

All this we felt to be true as we stood on the summit of towering Lycabettus and looked across the plains of Attica.

After spending a day and night at Syra we transshipped and sailed direct for Athens. Ten hours brought us to Pireus, a thriving town at the head of the Saronic bay. Athens is inland six miles from this place, and reached by turnpike or railway. We chose a carriage, and, riding rapidly over a broad, smooth road, found ourselves on classic ground, domiciled in the good "*Hotel de Strangers*," and surrounded by a brilliant coterie representing many nations, who had come like ourselves to visit this city of greatest renown in the kingdom of letters and art. We had come to see the seat and monumental ruins of a nation that had achieved greater success in thought, literature, architecture, and prowess, than any other people on the globe outside Bible lands.

But we can give only the briefest synopsis of her old enchanting annals. Authentic history of Greece dates back to the first Olympiad, 776 years before Christ. All accounts previous fade into myth and legend. Indeed, for two hundred years after that period much of Grecian history is founded in conjecture and mixed with fable. Homer is supposed to have lived 800 years B.C. But this is not certain; a cloud of obscurity has ever hung over his nativity. Herodotus and Aristotle place his birth at two different periods, separated by the enormous gap of two hundred years, while some ruthless rummaging and iconoclastic German critics have denied his existence alto-

gether. It is only when we come down to the days of Solon, Darius, Xerxes, and other contemporaneous celebrities, that we find ourselves reading well-accredited history. If the authority of the Pentateuch were so in doubt we might well tremble.

The annals of Greece may be divided into four epochs. Her heroic age, her chivalrous period, her palmy days of philosophy and art, and her present state of revivification and promise. The heroic age is the misty antiquity of Grecian mythology—the time of fabled Hercules, the hero of Hellas, from which the Greeks take their true and ancient name, Hellenes. Then also existed the ideal Theseus, the hero of Attica, and Minos, the King of Crete, and the goddess Athene, the namesake of Athens. In commemoration of these legendary characters the temples were built whose ruins are the chief attraction of the city of Athens to this day.

Another remarkable era in Grecian history is the period of military exploits on sea and land, by which Greece covered herself with glory. These great achievements were three in number: 1. The defeat of the Persians on the plains of Marathon, under Miltiades. 2. The overthrow of the naval forces of the Persians at Salamis, under Themistocles. 3. The famous battle of Thermopylæ, where the brave Leonidas fought and fell with all his Spartan compatriots except one, and where they would have won a victory but for treachery in their ranks. In all ages human nature has maintained its identity. Two thousand years ago Greece had its Benedict Arnold in the perfidious person of Ephialtes, who, in hope of a great reward, went over to Xerxes and informed him how, by a circuitous route, he could flank Leonidas. But in spite of this betrayal Leonidas won a moral victory, for such was the valor of the Spartan band of three hundred against ten thousand chosen men that in their defeat and sublime death Greece was raised to the apex of military and national renown. Defeat is sometimes better than victory. It was so in this case; for the prowess thus acquired soon repulsed and warned off the Persians, and kept all barbaric invaders at bay for centuries. As a result, the arts and products of peace and civilization grew up and flourished beyond all precedent for those times. Not that wars are a blessing; intrinsically they are a curse, but in the degeneracy of nations they may be the less of two evils. The rupture of an abscess is bet-

ter than the occult diffusion of disease causing death. It is on this principle alone that our late war can be justified. It involved the nation's life and the weal of coming generations. The same is true of the Hellenic wars; they swept away the malaria of barbarism. At this period began the halcyon days of Greece under the lead and patronage of Aristides, Cimon, and Pericles. Pericles was the great patron of the fine arts. "He sought to make Athens the seat and center of every excellence. His idea was that the nation's capital should be at once a fortress of strength, a city of palaces, an abode of refinement, a school of philosophy, and a temple of the gods." Under the administration of such conceptions, letters and art sprang as by magic into being and celebrity. But it was the illustrious Phidias and his co-artists that placed the crown of surpassing beauty upon the brow of Athens. They constructed of white marble, on the lofty summit of the Acropolis, magnificent temples—the Propylæa, the Parthenon, and the Erechtheum. These are supposed to be the most exquisite specimens of architectural art that the genius of man has ever produced. They are sublime in their ruins.

In this period also appeared the great philosophers, Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, Zeno, and others whose works have been the basis of classic education and the sources of philosophic study down to the present time. And it was the rationalism of these writers that prepared the way and necessitated the transition from polytheism to monotheism; and this monotheistic innovation in turn by a similar necessity became the precursor of, and finally created the demand for, the introduction of Christianity. But the norm of human history is, that following every day there is a night—not of necessity in a moral sense, but as a fatality involved in a fallen condition unaided by counteracting grace. In this state we cannot bear prosperity, for with it come luxury and vice; and sin, being a reproach to any people, weakens character and subverts governments. The sun of Greece began to decline with the long civil strifes of the Peloponnesian war, 404 B.C., and ended with the extinction of her liberties, 338 B.C. And yet, such were her vitality and momentum, that, like a dying tree with living roots, she continued to flourish for many centuries. But being finally conquered by the Macedonians under Philip, in spite of the

heroic efforts of Demosthenes to rouse his countrymen to resistance, she remained under that rule with various vicissitudes until 86 B.C., when, under Sulla, the Roman yoke was imposed upon her. But still the artistic magnificence and literary character of Athens continued until after the middle of the first century, when Paul appeared and preached on Mars' Hill, complimenting their learning, and making it a basis of remonstrance against their superstitions and idolatries.

After this came the Goths and Ostrogoths and Turks, who swept the land with devastation, and introduced misrule, which lasted until 1827, the date at which modern Greece begins.

But we must recur to our personal observations. In coming to Athens from Pireus we enter the city on the south side, which is the business part, and looks more European than Oriental. Indeed, there is much taste and appearance of thrift in the stores and shops. As we reach the north side we come to a public square, in the center of which is a beautiful park, green with tropical plants, and smiling with flowers and ripe oranges, though in latitude thirty-eight degrees, and early in the month of March. On the south side of this square are large business houses; on the east and west the principal hotels; and on the north, crowning a gentle ascent, are the palace and grounds of the young King George. All these buildings are substantial and commodious, but not magnificent. To the right and left of the square, within the radius of one mile, are to be found the best private and public buildings, and all the chief objects of antiquarian interest. Athens nestles between two high bluffs, the Acropolis, five hundred feet above the level of the sea, and Lycabettus, still higher, and surrounded by the sunny plains of Attica, which may be made as productive and gardenesque as Scotland under the hand of cultivation and art.

Objects of Interest.

1. The Stadium, where Grecian games were practiced. This is a level arena a little way out of town, about one hundred feet in length and one hundred and fifty in breadth, lying in the shape of an ox-bow. It is encompassed on three sides by sloping ground, say fifty feet high, just steep enough to form the base of receding seats, bringing the spectators in full view of the arena.

The Stadium looks now like a natural recess into the hill-side; but it is evident that it was originally put in shape by excavation, because in the curve of the ox-bow there is a subterranean passage which obviously served as a way of ingress and exit. But oh, the vicissitudes of time! the Stadium is now a pasture-field and play-ground. Sheep crop the grass and bleat for their young, and children sport, where once the *élite* of Athens sat in chairs of Pentelic marble, and fifty thousand people were held entranced over contingent results as the contests went on. But oh, all is reduced to the silence of death and the decay of the grave. Three hundred years before Christ, and eighteen centuries of our Lord's era, have swept over their ashes, and consigned all their memories except a few to eternal oblivion, and their souls to immutable destiny.

2. A second object of interest is the Olympium, a sumptuous temple built on ground held sacred from the earliest times, and separated from the Stadium by the River Ilissus. Hadrian's arch, which formed the magnificent gate-way into the Olympium, and fifteen of the mighty columns, sixty-four feet in height and over seven feet in diameter, still stand; two lie prone and broken on the ground, victims of the gnawing teeth of time. If Christian civilization is faithful to her interests these relics will be preserved, and, like the Pantheon, at Rome, tell the story of the transition of the people from heathenism to Christianity.

3. A third and principal object is the Acropolis. A perpendicular rock on three sides, facing the city and approached and mounted from the rear by a winding carriage-way of gradual and easy ascent. Its summit is crowned with the ruins of four or five temples, the chief of which is the Parthenon. Nothing but its foundation and pillars remain. These columns are not monoliths, but circular sections of stone placed one upon the other, and so closely jointed that the seams can scarcely be detected. I called the attention of Dr. Constantine to these joints. He said, "I will show you a seam that you cannot find at all." He pointed to a spot in the steps of the Parthenon. No junction was discernible; nothing but a place where a piece had been broken out made it possible to discover the joint after the closest inspection.

Contiguous to the Acropolis, and separated from it by a road-

way, is Mars' Hill, where Paul preached to the court and scholars of Athens. Mars' Hill, like the Acropolis, is a precipitous rock, though not nearly so high. Three of its sides overlook the city; one slopes off to the ordinary level. The Areopagus is reached by a flight of steps cut in the solid rock, some of which are broken, others entirely gone. By these Paul and his hearers must have ascended. I stood on the rocky pulpit, and rehearsed the words of Paul. The surroundings inspire just such thoughts as Paul's discourse contains. In front, the city and the Olympium; at the right, the Parthenon; at the left, the temple of Theseus; in the rear, the rostrum of Demosthenes; Plato's Villa in the distance in one direction, the place where Socrates drank the hemlock in the other. In the midst of such associations, Paul, that intrepid man of God, who never was ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, sowed the seed which has proved itself ineradicable unto the present day.

The Parthenon is a double reminder. As a specimen of art, it tells of the highest civilization under heathenism. As a ruin, it reminds us of the utter incompatibility of culture with polytheism and idolatry. Here we have an instance. Culture and genius in the person of Phidias built the temple and gave it to Athens and the worship of the gods. But the same culture that developed the genius of Phidias and Praxiteles also brought out Xenophanes the philosopher, and other monotheistic teachers, who attacked the popular religion, and sapped it to its very foundations. Thus the cause of the splendid temple was also the cure of its false worship. It is a noteworthy fact that knowledge and refinement collide with, antagonize, and finally subvert all false religions.

Not so with the Christian religion: it thrives on the pabulum of education and literature, locks arms with culture, keeps step with science, takes a position in advance of all knowledge, and invites to a higher plane—a plane far above the proud soarings of our vainglorious scientists. The result was that when Paul came declaiming against idolatry and superstition on Mars' Hill he gained an easy victory, because the philosophers had gone before, as John the Baptist, and prepared the way. Ever since Paul spoke on Mars' Hill polytheism and idolatry have been smitten with decay—struck with death. They live, but they

live as the roots of trees live when the trunk has been cut away. *They live to rot.*

4. The Pnyx. This is the place where Demosthenes delivered his orations against Philip of Macedon. It lies at the edge of the city, about a hundred rods back of Mars' Hill. The bema is a rock platform, say twenty feet long and half as wide, and elevated some four feet from the ground. Behind is a natural wall of rock; in front, a little circular field slightly descending from the rostrum. The acoustic properties of this place are remarkable. I stood five hundred feet from the rostrum, and heard Dr. Constantine distinctly as he spoke in a conversational tone.

Here the classic orator of greatest antiquity gave us a type of oratory for our schools and public speakers, which, perhaps, will never perish. As showing the tenacity with which the Greeks adhere to their national life and customs, the Pnyx is still used as a place for public assembly and political harangues. A meeting was recently held there to consider the "Eastern Question," in which the Greeks are more deeply interested than any other nation. Thus, after a lapse of two thousand years, speeches were made by the professors of Athens University on the spot where Demosthenes stood, rivaling in spirit and eloquence, and perhaps excelling in learning, the orations of that great orator. The air of Greece is thick with independence, and the whole of Greece impregnate with hostility to the Moslem Government and religion.

On the opposite side of the town, at the base of towering Lycabettus, we find the works of modern art—the beginning of the Hellenic resurrection. Here are the Parliament House, the University, the Academy of Fine Arts, and most of the new and fine residences. Athens is the capital and chief city more on account of its prestige and ruins than its local advantages or commercial importance. But, having a population of fifty thousand, fine scenery, and all the government buildings, it is bound to be the chief city of Greece for some time to come. But she will not retain her supremacy without competition. Indeed, the chief commercial centers to-day are Syra, Corfu, Petras, and Pireus. And when the projected ship-canal is cut through the isthmus, these latter places will have the decided advantage, for then the Corinthian gulf will be the great highway to Asia

Minor and the Orient. And this improvement, in connection with the railway now under discussion, will give to Greece a maritime interest never before realized.

Petras and Corfu are large shipping ports, situated on the gulf of Corinth. Each has a population of twenty-five thousand. Corfu, on an island of the same name, is a lovely city, built on a high bluff, jutting out into the sea, in the midst of wild and deep ravines, which make it a romantic summer resort.

But leaving the cities, Greece has but little enchantment to the view. It is a small, rock-bound, hilly country, with thin soil, few streams, narrow valleys, and no forests except in the north. Parnassus and contiguous mountains are said to be well timbered with pines and oaks.

Greece has a prospect of enlargement. The Congress of Berlin, in 1878, advised a cession of territory by Turkey, which, if she obtains, and Crete is annexed, will nearly restore her ancient boundary. And to such restitution Providence evidently points. Indeed, the great powers of Europe could not do a wiser or more humane thing than to interject a Greek nation between Russia and Egypt, Syria and India.

England must cease to depend on Turkey to resist the encroachments of the Russian Bear. Turkey is a doomed nation, and Mohammedanism is a doomed religion. That government cannot rise to the civilization of the nineteenth century, and Mohammedanism cannot transfigure itself into Christianity. Both must perish. The Turk is every-where, like falling autumn leaves, the symbol of decay. But the Greeks represent vitality and recuperation, like the shooting vegetation and bursting flowers of spring. Like Milton's angels, "Vital in every part, they can but by annihilation die." The merchants who take the lead in all the important industries of that belt of States stretching from the Adriatic into Asia Minor are Greeks, and in numbers they form a larger factor than any other race. It has been estimated that there are four millions of Greeks now under Turkish rule in and about the Ægean Sea, two hundred and fifty thousand in Constantinople alone, ninety thousand in Cyprus, a half million in Crete, and so on.

The truth is, the Greek is as indigenous to the Ægean Sea and its outlying countries as the black man is to Africa. It is theirs

by the blood of a thousand battles and the graves of an illustrious ancestry stretching back into prehistoric times. Byron asserts the imperishability of this people on Grecian soil with as much truth as beauty:

> "They fell devoted, but undying;
> The very gale their names seemed sighing;
> The waters murmured at their name;
> The woods were peopled with their fame;
> The silent pillar, lone and gray,
> Claimed kindred with the sacred clay;
> Their spirits wrapped the dusky mountain;
> Their memory sparkled o'er the fountain;
> The meanest rill, the mightiest river,
> Rolled mingled with their fame forever;
> Despite of every yoke she bears,
> That land is glory's still, and theirs."

Signs of National Resuscitation.

The Greeks are renewing the whole face of the country, and reviving her mineral and agricultural resources. In 1863 the value of their imports and exports were six times as great as they were thirty years before. This may appear to be slow progress in our fast age; but it must be remembered Greece had every thing to re-create, soil, roads, forests, vineyards, public works, herds, and even population; for in the war of independence the greater part of the enterprising Greeks were slain. The truth is, the heroic Greek won territorial desolation on the verge of national extinction. Indeed, it was seriously proposed by the Turkish authorities to exterminate the whole Greek population. The *mufti* was consulted, and when he decided that the Koran did not allow the slaughter of the innocent with the guilty, he was accused of misinterpreting Scripture, and banished. Immediately the island of Scio was attacked with fire and sword, and in four days beautiful Scio, the seat of modern Greek literature and civilization, was a mass of blood and ashes. Out of a population of one hundred and thirty thousand only nine hundred were left, and these were taken into the markets of Smyrna and sold into slavery and debauch worse than death. But to-day, despite all this carnage and savagery, the commerce of Greece floats on every sea. England alone pays her five millions annually for her products.

Manufactories.

This little country is making rapid strides in manufactures. She promises to become the New England of the archipelago. Pireus, a town of eighteen thousand inhabitants, and which ten years ago did not possess a single manufactory, has at the present time more than thirty steam factories, representing as many industries. In the whole kingdom she has eight hundred and twelve factories, twenty-four thousand three hundred artisans employed in them, while the value of their annual products amounts to $28,000,000. Her maritime trade is also very considerable. The amount of this may be inferred from the number of her merchant vessels, which in 1871 was six thousand one hundred and thirty-five, an increase of five thousand one hundred and thirty-five since the close of the war of independence.

Government.

The political institutions of Greece are a fair approach to our own government. They have a king, it is true, but he is little more than a permanent president, with less power than the President of the United States. They have a Constitution, a House of Deputies, and universal suffrage. With the exception of full religious toleration, their Constitution secures every right which our Constitution makes sacred; including even the Fifteenth Amendment. In Greece men cannot be bought and sold. A purchased slave, of whatever race or religion, is free from the time he enters Greece. The royalty is only a nominal sovereignty, like that of England. I heard an English gentleman conversing at the dinner-table with a Greek, a member of the Assembly. The Englishman, referring to the limited prerogatives of the king, said, "You have a republic with a king at the head." The Greek quickly retorted, "And you have a republic with a queen at the head." The government and laws of Greece are now well administered. As a result brigandage and the Vlaques, a horde of vagrant nomadic shepherds from whom the brigands sprung, have been suppressed. The Areopagus is again the supreme court of Greece.

Education.

The most remarkable feature of the Greek nation to-day is its devotion to education. It is a national passion. Her fa-

mous university was founded as late as 1837. Now it enrolls thirteen hundred students, with seventy-two professors, and a library of one hundred and fifty thousand volumes. They have a richly-endowed girls' school, and a whole constellation of other educational institutions for both sexes, and these are all fed by a system of primary schools that penetrate into every nook and corner in the land. The primary schools are both free and compulsory. Besides these there are night schools and lectures, and a system of secondary schools, which are numerously attended. The result is, Greece is plethoric with learning. She has more educated men than she knows what to do with. A traveler in Greece wanted a dragoman, and asked a member of the government to recommend a suitable man to act as a guide and interpreter. "Why not take my brother?" said the minister of the government; "you will find him just what you want; he is a graduate of the Athens University, speaks several languages, is a civil, obliging fellow, and anxious for a situation."

Religion.

The prevailing religion of Greece is that of the Greek Church, which is separate and distinct from the Greek Church of Russia, and differs but little from the Roman Catholic. It is the established Church, and affiliates more with the Oriental Patriarchates than with either the Russian, Greek, or Latin Churches. The late learned Alexander Lycurgus, Archbishop of Cyclades, and friend of Mr. Gladstone, went to Jerusalem for ordination and true apostolic succession. Rome was too diluted. It is, however, one with them in faith, ritual, superstition, and sin. The parish priests are said to be ignorant and dissolute; they are of the peasant class, and entirely dependent on voluntary contributions for their support. They must be married men, and cannot, therefore, be promoted, for the canon law requires the bishops to be celibates or widowers. I was told two priests were in prison, and several bishops had been sent to the monasteries for bribery and fraud. They bought their bishoprics, corrupted the voters, and oppressed the people. A teacher in a Protestant school told me the law required the parish priest to come to the school periodically and catechise the children. She also said it was her custom to tell the stupid man what to say when he had any moral advice to give.

I attended a service on Thursday morning in the Greek Church. Not understanding the language or motions, I supposed the priests were preparing to perform the marriage ceremony for a well-dressed and handsome couple who stood by themselves in a recess. But the service being short, the supposed bride kissed the crucifix held up to her, and both retired, passing quite near me, entered a carriage, and drove away. It proved to be King George and Queen Olga. The young king looks amiable, and is said to be quite democratic and unassuming, whether of choice or necessity does not appear. He is a Lutheran, and has a private chapel and chaplain in his palace, while his wife is of the Greek Church of Russia. The government gives but a meager support to the higher clergy. The Metropolitan Bishop of Athens receives but one thousand and seventy-five dollars; other bishops less. From this and other facts it would seem that the Greek Church has not a stronghold in Greece. A pure and earnest type of religion, I am persuaded, would rapidly commend itself to the people. As a result of the ecclesiastical degeneracy in Greece the educated men are reported to be infidel. Therefore the learning of this rising Greek microcosm of letters threatens to become a mighty power of mischief, because unsanctified.

Now, what is vital Christianity doing to resuscitate this dead Church, or to supersede it? What Protestant agencies are at work to leaven the Greek schools with evangelism, and regenerate the head and heart of the Hellenic race? I found five Protestant organizations represented in Athens. The first and oldest mission is that of the Protestant Episcopal Church, founded more than fifty years ago by Dr. and Mrs. Hill. They are still there, though the doctor has passed into the venerable state of *emeritus* superannuation, being an octogenarian of eighty-six years. His work chiefly consists in teaching schools. He employs American ladies as teachers, and they make part of his family. Dr. Hill fraternizes more with the Greek Church than with the other Protestant missionaries. I was told that the Greek priests are so well pleased with him, that they have intimated a willingness, in case of his death, to give him a funeral. His schools are large, and, though subject to the inspection and teaching of the Catechism by the Greek priests, they are evangelical in their tendency.

The second mission is Congregational, under Dr. Constantine, supported through a committee composed of the president and professors of Amherst College. Dr. Constantine preaches every Sabbath to a congregation of forty, with a Sunday-school of the same number. He has written and published a commentary on the New Testament in modern Greek. The doctor is doing a good work, and if all his irons were made red hot by a baptism of the Holy Ghost he would burn his way into the Greek heart.

The Presbyterians of the South are represented in the person of Rev. Mr. Kalipatharkis, a man of Greek origin, like his colleague, Dr. Constantine. His work, however, is more discursive. He itinerates, and depends more upon public preaching. In this line he meets with some opposition and danger from violence. He, too, has a good school, and is evidently diffusing an evangelical influence. Another Greek, Rev. Mr. Sacularis, represents the Baptist Church, and is doing similar work, with the same moderate success.

The Woman's Union Foreign Missionary Society, whose head-quarters are in New York city, had two female workers in Athens. One of them, Mrs. Fluhart, is a Methodist. Excepting this lone prophetess, in this abnormal relation, Methodism has no part or lot in the matter of Greek evangelization. These ladies impressed me as being both earnest and spiritual, and they had a most interesting school. Since we were there the government officers required them to hang a picture of the "Virgin" on the wall of the school-room, and allow the priests to come in and catechise the children. This they refused, and the school was closed. They have now gone to Cyprus, where John Bull will see that they have fair play.

I might mention another agency, which will show the unrest and struggles of the Greek mind in relation to religion.

There lives in Athens a *materialist*, who has published the English Prayer Book in the native language, to which he has appended moral exhortations. Being a man of wealth, he circulates the book gratuitously. He professes to be influenced by motives of patriotism, and justifies his inconsistency on the ground that morality and religion are necessary to the existence and prosperity of the State. There is, also, an association

called the "Friends of the People," which gives free public lectures, secular and religious.

From all these facts it appears that the unclean spirit of polytheism, and of groveling baseness and brutality, which characterizes the Turk and the Arab, has gone out of the ruling spirit of the Hellenic people. The Greek mind is "empty, swept, and garnished" by literature and civilization, so far as that can be done by those agencies. Now the danger is that the unclean spirit, finding the Greek mind in such a prepared condition, will "take to itself seven other spirits," and re-enter, when the last state of that nation will be worse than the first. What is the duty of the living Churches in such an emergency? Is it not that at any expense and without the loss of a day they should preoccupy this educated moral vacuity with pure gospel truth? What missionary field on the face of the globe demands such haste? or where else shall we find forces so potential ready to our hand? Greece, to-day, is a magazine of literary and intellectual thunderbolts. These are active agents, that cannot lie inert, like buried gold and fossil remains, doing neither good nor harm for ages. It is in their nature to make themselves felt for good or for evil. If they are sanctified, Greece may soon be next to England as an intelligent evangelizer; if not, she will soon supplement German rationalism and French infidelity.

True to her ancestral character, Greece is destined to be a nation of ideas. Her thin soil and rugged hills necessitate this. Thought is born of rocks, and genius of hard times. In every age we find the muses and genius nestled among mountain peaks, and perched on crags, and dipping their wings in troubled waters. Greece, like New England, Scotland, and the hill country of India, is required by nature to give birth to intellectual greatness. Anciently she felt these mental throes indigenous to her soil, and, having no Star of Bethlehem to guide her wise men to the infant incarnate Light of the world, that lay sleeping in Mary's arms, they gave to the world the highest type of heathen philosophy, and a universal standard of flowing numbers. It was a spontaneity. She did her best. It was not her fault that some of her theories turned out to be philosophy falsely so-called; it was the want of light; and now that she has come out of her grave the only nation that has had

a resurrection in the history of the world, and is beginning instinctively to build up her ancient glory in the kingdom of letters, it must be that Providence has a mission for her of no ordinary magnitude. It may be the divine purpose that from this little "Ephratah" the Saviour shall go forth again to resuscitate the extinct apostolic Churches. The literature of Greece is now circulated in Thessalonica, Smyrna, and other sites of these old apostolic foundations. Greeks print twenty-five daily newspapers.

The Church cannot afford to neglect these occult forces and pent-up energies of New Greece. They are irrepressible, and must become a "savor of life unto life, or of death unto death." The duty of the hour is to saturate the schools and literature of Greece with spiritual Christianity, and we must cease to depend on the scholastic method, and mass our strength on direct preaching. Who will go, without purse or scrip, if need be, and preach on Mars' Hill? If I were young I would haste to this moral waste, where the letter killeth, asking only to be accredited by my Church and commissioned by the Holy Ghost.

Art. VI.—MILEY ON THE ATONEMENT.

The Atonement is the heart of the Christian organism. As our Lord Jesus Christ, in the act of crucifixion, thrust forward his heart, as his head reclined to the right, and as the Roman soldier pierced the pericardium with his spear when the atoning death was achieved, making the physical organ visible, so is the heart of God revealed in all the vital functions which the atonement affects. A defective theory of Atonement involves cardinally a defective theology. It is heart disease in its highest, worst, and most fatal form. A true theory of Atonement sends its life-blood into every fiber and tissue of a body of divinity, and compels the health of symmetrical "proportion of faith," as the apostle calls it, by throwing off what is extraneous, and healing what is defective. Andrew Fuller thought systematic theology should begin at the cross as the center of divine manifestation, and from that focal point of infinite light, love, justice, wisdom, and condescending

almightiness, the endless rays of all divine attributes, purposes, plans, and works could be traced to best advantage.

Methodism has had from the start a homogeneous and symmetrical theology. It is such a theology as will bear being preached. It has not one set of dogmas for the creed and catechism and another for the pulpit. Truth never needs suppression; still less is it capable of contradiction. A complimentary representative from a Calvinistic denomination told our General Conference a few years ago that Calvinists preached like Arminians. If Arminianism is good for the pulpit, it is good for the creed, the catechism, the theologic treatise, the profession of faith; for the one ought to be the exponent of the other, and truth is sacrificed if there be disharmony.

So busy has Methodism been in preaching its saving truths, demonstrated as truths by their widespread saving efficacy, that we have had very little time to formulate them into a literature. Dr. Miley, who has shown by his footnotes and otherwise that he has surveyed the field, frankly confesses that our literature on this central theme of salvation is very meager. Methodism is rich in literature. We have our precious biographies, our sacred lyrics, our biblical comments, our systematic divinity, our homiletics; but anthropology and soteriology have not taken wide and specific literary form.

A new ecclesiastical era is upon us. What Amherst has been to Congregationalism and Princeton to Presbyterianism, Drew, Evanston, and Boston are about to be to Methodism. A book-making age has come to our Zion. Whether it will be best for the unity, simplicity, and effectiveness of our faith remains to be seen. This book of Dr. Miley's, at all events, is a great gain in the right direction. We hail it with pleasure.

It is natural for a teacher to write didactically. This excellent book is evidently prepared for didactic purposes. The didactic needs of the author in the lecture-room doubtless necessitated it, and the material is put in the form of a text-book, which will probably take its place in our theological seminaries and in the revised course of study for our traveling preachers.

Dr. Miley's cast of mind is logical, perhaps too severely so. Logic is shy of tropes and metaphors. Logic keeps the naked

thought in view; dressed in metaphor, it may mean too little or too much. In the work before him logic has cause for unadorned simplicity, severity, and directness. Nothing could take the place of it. But one cannot avoid the thought that a little ornamentation could with safety be occasionally indulged without peril to perspicuity and logical precision, and with manifest help to the average reader and student. Bald rock glints with mica and quartz. Frowning mountain peaks are decked with fern and ivy. Our Lord, the severest of logicians, abated no part of logical precision by parable and illustration. If our acute Drew professor had occasionally picked a flower by the way and indulged in an analogue, he might have made a book of less hard reading, and logic would not have been sacrificed to the graces of rhetoric.

Dr. Miley believes in short sentences. Manifestly he thinks each thought should be shut up to its own sentence. A thought has enough duality or plurality to be shut up in a sentence, as it were housekeeping in its own castle, without having the repulsiveness of a hermit. More than one thought, dual or plural in attribute, is often let into the homestead, at the expense of elegance, perspicuity, and effectiveness, on the principle that two families live in one house with less comfort than in two; but, without meaning to be hypercritical, it has seemed to me that in many cases the doctor might lengthen his sentences with happy effect, and with a gain in power.

The *fact* of Atonement is admitted by all who admit the Bible. Atonement is *the* fact of the Bible. Prophets before apostles testified the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow. A suffering Christ is meaningless except as he is an atoning Christ. God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself. This is the central truth of Christianity. This *is* Christianity. Reconciliation involves atonement. Reconciliation *is* atonement. The word "atonement" occurs but once in the New Testament. "And not only so, but we also joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received the atonement." Rom. v, 11. The word is καταλλαγη. It is used four times. Twice it is translated "reconciliation," and once "reconciling." It is an old Saxon combination—at-one-ment: the means and act of being at one with one with whom we have been at variance.

Sin is alienating. It alienates man from his fellow; it alienates man from God. "Your iniquities have separated between you and your God." Isa. lix, 2. The alienation is mutual. Not only does the sinner turn from God, but God turns from the sinner. Sin never can be regarded with complacency by a holy being, still less by one infinitely holy. "God is angry with the wicked every day." Psa. vii, 11. And the sinner turns with such malevolence from God that "the carnal mind," which man has apart from the renewing of the Spirit which makes him "spiritually minded," "is enmity against God." Rom. viii, 7.

The Atonement is the means of ending this alienation. "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself." 2 Cor. v, 19. God loved his enemies, and in Christ looked upon them in compassion. God loved the unlovely, the hideous, the repulsive, and in Christ reached out in quest of the prodigal and the lost. And the Atonement is the means of ending human alienation from God. The ministry of reconciliation in Christ puts into operation influences divine, angelic, and human, by the highest motions of which our nature is capable, to induce us to be "reconciled to God."

Atonement reaches God-ward, not to *make* God placable; for the placability of God made the Atonement; but to remove all barriers in good and righteous government to the legitimate exercise of placability. Atonement reaches man-ward, to secure voluntary acceptance of the divine overture and all the blessings of reconciliation; for, as sin is voluntary alienation, the Atonement calls for a voluntary termination of it.

Our author fortifies impregnably the basal truth of the reality of the Atonement by what he calls "witnessing facts" and "witnessing terms;" and insists that a true theory of atonement should fit these facts and be in full harmony with these terms. As in any science, a true theory will be the outgrowth of the facts and an inductive generalization from the factors which the God of nature puts at our disposal in the revelation of his works; so in this science of redemption, a true theory will be the outgrowth of biblical facts and an induction from the inspired factors which the God of supernature puts at our disposal in the revelation of his word. Any theory is false if it is not true to all these facts and terms; a theory true to them all has highest proof of being true.

What is the true theory of the Atonement? is *the* question in Dr. Miley's book. In answering it there must be no preconceived opinions, no favorite hypotheses. There must be pure love of truth. Lord Brougham says, "There is nothing so plain to which the influence of a preconceived opinion, or the desire of furthering a favorite hypothesis, will not blind men; their blindness in such cases bears even a proportion to their learning and ingenuity."

A priori, we cannot conclude as to the fact of the Atonement or what the Atonement is; for we can have no *a priori* knowledge of God. God is known only so far as he chooses to reveal himself. His works are known only so far as revelation, either natural or supernatural, makes them knowable. In the simplest of all God's works there are impenetrable *adyta*. No philosopher has a plummet long enough to sound the depths of mystery in an atom. A man must be very bold in presumptive arrogance when he ventures beyond revelation in his theorizing concerning confessedly the greatest of all the works of God. Creation, *a priori*, is unknown; it is known only so far as it is revealed in the things that are made: and creation cost God only a word; for "he spake and it was done; he commanded and it stood fast." The mysteries of Redemption are as much greater, we would argue, as its cost is greater, for in redemption God had to become incarnate, suffer, and in his human nature bleed and die.

Frederick Robertson insisted that truth should be put constructively, by stating it without polemics with the opposing error. Robertson thought the establishment of truth was *per se* the destruction of error. The ushering of light is the dismissal of darkness. In the main, this is the proper method, if we can judge from the example of the Great Teacher.

In a work where such valuable service has been rendered the cause of truth, we should be very modest in venturing a criticism at so vital a point of methodology; but Dr. Miley's argument, which is apparently unanswerable, would perhaps have been more satisfactorily, effectively, and logically put if Robertson's idea had been carried out by a clear enunciation of what he calls the Governmental Theory as the primary and staple part of this division of his discussion, leaving the confutation of the Moral Theory, which he calls no atonement at all, and

of the Satisfactional Theory, to as natural result as the fading of darkness before the opening beams of day. For satisfactory reasons, doubtless, to his own mind, the author has concluded that the confutation of error was the proper prelude to the establishment of truth; and he has evidently kept in thought "the influence of preconceived opinions and the desire of furthering favorite hypotheses," of which Brougham speaks; and felt the importance of preparing the way for a true literature on this central point in theology, where the vast bulk was on the wrong side.

Arminianism is not only good to preach, as Dr. Patton has ingenuously confessed; it is good to write and print and publish. Illogically so far as the creed is concerned, but logically so far as the oracles of truth are, Satisfactionists have, both in review and volume, come over to the true Governmental idea.

Albert Barnes, identified with the New School dissent from hyper-Calvinism, and the chief mover in that organization, but who came over to the unified Church in which the old theology was reaffirmed, has written some of the strongest words in the Arminian line of thought.

Dr. Enoch Pond, in "Bibliotheca Sacra," 1856, says all that Dr. Miley or Dr. Raymond claim:—

> He (Christ) endured, not the proper penalty of the law, but a complete governmental substitute for the penalty. His sufferings and death in our room and stead as fully sustain the authority of law, as fully meet the demands of justice, as fully answer all the purposes of the divine government, as would the infliction of the penalty itself; and consequently are a complete substitute for the penalty; or, in other words, a complete atonement.
>
> It is commonly and justly understood among evangelical Christians, that Christ's death was vicarious, or that he died as a substitute. But a substitute how? and for what? Not that he endured the proper penalty of the law for us, but that he endured an adequate substitute for that penalty; so that the penalty itself may now be safely and consistently remitted. Were the penalty all borne, there would be nothing to be remitted. But as it has not been borne, but only a substitute for it—as it has not been removed, but only a way opened by which it may be—there is as much need of forgiveness as though the Saviour had not died.

This is not the monergism of Calvinism, in which redemption has been achieved by contract between the Father and the Son

for a definite number, who are the elect, no more and no less; but it is the synergism of Arminianism, in which the result of redemption "may be," if we comply with the requisite conditions.

Dr. Symington, as quoted by Dr. Miley, defines Atonement, "Such act or acts as shall accomplish all the moral purposes which, to the infinite wisdom of God, appear fit and necessary under a system of rectoral holiness, and which must otherwise have been accomplished by the exercise of retributive justice upon transgressors in their own persons." This definition Dr. Miley willingly admits.

The definition of Atonement given by the author is more succinct, but full: "The vicarious sufferings of Christ are an atonement for sin as a conditional substitute for penalty, fulfilling, on the forgiveness of sin, the obligation of justice and the office of penalty in the moral government."

Truth in a theory of Atonement must be the analogue of truth in any other theory. A true theory of astronomy must harmonize with the phenomena of the sidereal bodies. A true theory of electricity must harmonize with the phenomena of this subtle fluid. A true theory of Atonement must harmonize with the phenomena which twinkle like the fixed stars in the firmament of everlasting truth, revolve like the planets in the orbit of obedience to law, and shine like the sun, the center of light and gravitating power, and with the flashes and thunder of the storms of wrath which purify the air and precede the beauty of the bow of promise and of hope. What are these phenomena?

1. As the Atonement is for sin, it must meet the demands of the demerit, the guilt, the condemnation, the pollution, the enormity, the hideousness, the prevalence, the suffering, the death of sin. No theory meets the facts either in biblical record, or in the experience of life, which in any measure makes light of sin and dares not treat it with the awful gravity which the facts of an accusing and punitive conscience and all the experiences of transgression attest. The doctrine of sin must be tremendously emphatic. "Sin by the commandment" is "exceedingly sinful." Its heinousness and malignity are mitigated only by apposition to the commandment. A theory which deals with sin as if it were curative by the influence of

moral example is as philosophical as the proposed cure of consumption by a rubefacient, or of cancer by a smelling-bottle. Atonement, deep enough to eradicate the cancer of sin and to heal the tubercles of depravity, broad enough to cover the spiritual needs of human nature, must strike down deeper than sin; must be stronger than sin; must have more than the element of philanthropy; must be more than human. Perhaps an unhappy and sometimes misleading use has been made of the phrase "total depravity." The phrase is nowhere used in Scripture, though, rightly interpreted, the doctrine contained in it is fundamental in the Scripture. Man is not totally depraved in the sense that he is a fiend; though he may grow to be such by the downward trend of transgression; nor is he as bad as he can be, and bad in all respects, though this is the tendency. Possibly "universal degeneracy" would be to some minds a phrase more expressive of biblical statement and human experience; but, call it what you will, there is an abounding in sin and a frightful power, which call for more than a lackadaisical sentimentalism. The influence of moral example is good as far as it goes, and we could not have atonement without it; but soteriology demands sterner things in dealing with such a stern outlaw as sin—it calls for suffering, for blood, for death.

2. As the Atonement is for holiness, it must rise to a superabounding pre-eminence above the abounding amplitude and power of sin, and give adequate motive, sufficient help and ample resources for a clean heart and a holy life. This cannot be done by any mere humanitarian appeals. Still less can it be done by any alleged capriciousness and arbitrary discrimination on the part of God, doing all for some, nothing for others, and setting forth a rule of conduct calculated to make us partial and unlovely. If I believed Calvinism true and myself one of the elect, I might fear God, but I hardly see how I could love such an arbitrary being; and if I regarded myself as one of the reprobate, not included in the Satisfaction Theory in which Christ died for the elect, I should feel it a sort of virtue to hate a being guilty of such outrageous enormity. A true theory of atonement sets before both saint and sinner an example of Fatherhood, of Brotherhood, of rigid justice, of compassionate love, of infinite magnanimity, which appeal with

constraining power to all that is manly, magnanimous, and responsive to truth in natures which, though wrecked, have enough salvage to keep on the voyage of accountable probation. Holiness has its stern as well as gentle traits. Holiness is practical goodness; and goodness in its practical achievements, in a world of sin, whatever may be the case in a world where there is none, has rigid, stern, and severe attributes. The Atonement is to cultivate many-sided, symmetrical, manly character, tender, gentle, sweet, and pure—feminine in the loveliness of embodied love, masculine in the strength of embodied justice and righteousness.

3. As the Atonement is the highest exhibition of the glory and symmetry of the Divine Nature, it must have nothing ignoble or calculated to challenge the criticism of generous minds, and it must have an affluence pre-eminently worthy of God. Moses never rose to a point of greater sublimity of conduct than when he declined the guidance of a mere angel and stood ready to resign his high office if God himself did not go with the people. Strangely in contrast with the spirit of Moses is that theology which insists that the leadership of a mere man is sufficient for us. If Jesus is a mere Man, redemption is not the chief exhibition of divine glory and power. Creation towers above it; for *God* created the heavens and the earth. But as that big little word "*so*" in the sixteenth of the third chapter of John, and all the logic of the entire tenor of Scripture, and the progressiveness of the works of God, render the Atonement superlatively exalted as a Divine Manifestation, a true theory must see in Jesus supreme and superlative Godhead in his highest and divinest functions. If angels have been baffled students of the redemptive plan for thousands of years, with all the helps to knowledge which they possess, it must certainly have more than a finite element in it; and if such noble and generous beings bend with such zest of inquiry, it must be more than a piece of bargain and sale of so much for so many.

4. As the Atonement is for man's sin, it is for the sin of every man; and as every man has sinned, it is for every man not in a public, ostensible, but insincere and ineffective sense, as if "the world," "every creature," "all men," were used in an exoteric sense for common consistency's sake; but the ex-

oteric and esoteric declarations of divine provision and purpose are the same; the secret and the published decree of the divine counsel are identical, and the Atonement is not limited but universal; it is not for the elect only, but for the entire human family.

5. As the Atonement is for man, it is for man as he is, with all his power of volition. Material things come to us conditionally. Intellectual things come in the same way. Why should not spiritual and eternal things, with which the Atonement specially has to do? The true theory of man's relation to both Nature and Providence is synergism, and not monergism. Atonement is out of analogy with all the works and ways of God, if it involves a different arrangement.

6. As the Atonement is from sin unto holiness, as it is the chief display of divine glory, and for all men, though realized in its saving efficiency by those only who comply with the conditions, it is full, complete, and perfect; full, because not fragmentary; complete, because not defective; perfect, because it is free from all inadequacy to meet the sublime ends for which as a plan it was achieved. It is adequate to save from all sin; to rescue from the deepest degeneracy; to uplift the chief and vilest of transgressors; to impart an entire justification, a complete sanctification, a victory over every foe, and the endless and ever-augmenting beatitudes of an eternal heaven: in a word, to make us like Jesus here, and endlessly and ever-increasingly like him in glory.

And, 7. As the Atonement is by suffering, Christ having once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, in this vicarious substitution, and as the whole line of truth indicates it as an infinite achievement, the suffering involved was nothing less than infinite. Dr. Miley argues this conclusively:

> Nor have we the truest, deepest sense of the sufferings of Christ, except in the fact that he endured them as the *Theanthropos*. With the doctrine of a union of the divine and human natures in a unity of personality in Christ, and that in the incarnation he was truly the *God-man*, we know not either the theology or philosophy which may limit his sufferings to a mere human consciousness. And with the impassivity of his divine nature in the incarnation and atonement, many texts of Scripture, fraught with infinite treasures of grace and love, would be little more than meaningless words. On such a principle their

exegesis would be superficial and false to their infinitely deeper meaning. The divine Son incarnate, and so incarnate in human nature as to unite it with himself in personal unity, could suffer, and did suffer, in the redemption of the world.

Redemption from suffering by suffering involves the element of infinity. If sin has its course, and ultimates in the penal death which violated law threatens, there is the element of infinity in it; for such suffering our Lord says is "everlasting" or eternal; and eternity is infinity. If our Atoning Substitute saves even one sinner from the ultimate consequences of sin, he does it by suffering, and this vicarious suffering must have the element of infinity in it. That element is not eternity, for Christ suffered "*once*," to suffer no more; he died "*once*," to die no more; but the element of infinity is to be sought in sufferings endured in finite time. How could this be except as it was endured by an Infinite Nature? If *Christ* suffered, the divine nature suffered, for Christ is divine as well as human. And if the divine nature suffered, the infinite element is introduced into the atoning sufferings in finite time.

It has long been a favorite view of theologians that God is impassible; that he is incapable of suffering. But do the Scriptures anywhere teach this? Is it not a venturing in theologic dogma beyond the bounds of revelation? Is it not a substitution of a deduction from human reasoning for a "thus saith the Lord?" Is it not a limiting of the Holy One of Israel? Is it not a contradiction of what God says concerning himself? Dr. Miley cites many passages of Scripture bearing on this vital issue.

On psychological grounds, apart from revelation, we do not question that ability to suffer is the complement and correlate of ability to enjoy. Where there is no ability to enjoy, there is none to suffer; but wherever there is ability to enjoy, there always is, and, from the nature of the case, there must be, ability to suffer; and the ability in one direction is the measure of the ability in the other. As God is undeniably capable of enjoyment, and enjoyment that is infinite, it is a reckless declaration, violative of psychological facts, as well as out of harmony with the word of God, for any one to affirm that he is incapable of suffering. To say the least, it is very immodest for men to speak dogmatically concerning what is impossi-

ble in a nature as illimitable as God's, when they cannot tell what is the limit of possibility in their own. More than that, it is impious, and a familiarity which God has taken occasion to resent on more occasions than one. If God has established the great law, which we see contradicted nowhere, but asserted every-where in the whole compass of sentient being, that ability to suffer invariably and necessarily accompanies ability to enjoy, it would certainly require a very explicit divine revelation on the subject to make it possible for us to believe that he violated in his own nature his own law.

The Atonement is an infinite transaction. It is the highest divine achievement. It is the sublimest and divinest visible manifestation of the heart of God. It may prove the central event in all history. Its primary applications are to our lost but redeemed world; its wider, ultimate, and eternal applications are "to the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known by the Church the manifold wisdom of God, according to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord." Eph. iii, 10-11.

Art. VII.—A HARMONY OF THE EGYPTIAN AND MOSAIC RECORDS.

We give from the London (Wesleyan) Quarterly Review for January, 1880, part of an article on Egyptian Chronology, which furnishes a remarkably clear view of its accord with the Hebrew chronology. Its identification of Menes with Mizraim is as good as any other account of Menes; that is, pretty much good for nothing. Such identification supposes but a brief period for the founding of a kingdom of Egypt; and thus perhaps demands the Septuagint chronology at that era. It furnishes no room for the legendary slow growth and mature grandeur of the empire of Menes; but it furnishes other legends quite as authentic, namely, that Abraham, 2,000 years before Christ, taught arithmetic to the Egyptians! The more rational supposition seems, perhaps, to be that Mizraim or Menes led the first immigration to Egypt, and occupied the ground whence the kingdom of Egypt rose, and so was the essential founder.

He carried much of the antediluvian science and civilization inherited through Noah with him; but the fantasy that he was a great monarch preceded by ages of development is too absurd for any but the greediest credulity.

Chronological Contradictions among Egyptologists.

The late Dean Milman had no hesitation in declaring, in his "History of the Jews," that "the internal evidence in respect to the genuineness of the Mosaic records is to me conclusive. All attempts to assign a later period for the authorship, or even for the compilation, though made by scholars of the highest ability, are so *irreconcilable with facts*, so self-destructive, and so *mutually destructive*, that I acquiesce without hesitation in the general antiquity."—Vol. i, p. 46. This conclusion of a distinguished historian respecting the "mutually destructive" nature of rationalistic speculations on the genuineness and authenticity of the books of Moses, appears still more evident when we see the differences which exist among those who ignore Scripture testimony respecting various incidents in the combined histories of Israel and Egypt. We propose to set this plainly before our readers in the following brief tables.

First, as regards the primary colonizer or protomonarch of Egypt after the dispersion at Babel. *His name is first seen on the monuments in the reign of Pharaoh Seti I., in the fifteenth century B. C.*, and therefore nearly 1,000 years after the biblical date of the Noachian deluge. It is read now by Birch and other Egyptian scholars as *Mena*, by Herodotus and the Greek historians as *Menes*, and in Genesis as "Mizraim," the son of Ham and grandson of Noah. Of him Manetho, the Egyptian scribe, thus speaks: "After the dead demigods, the first king was Menes the Thenite; and he reigned *sixty-two years*;" while Syncellus, a Byzantine historian, who gives the canon of the kings of Egypt, says that "Mizraim, who is the same as Menes, reigned *thirty-five years*." This difference between two ancient historians respecting the duration of the reign of him who is regarded as the first king of Egypt, is significant of the amazing variations between modern interpreters of Manetho as to the time when the said Menes lived. Thus the era of Menes is dated by various chronologers as follows:

1.	Mariette-Bey computes the era of Menes to have begun	B.C. 5004
2.	Brugsch-Bey	" 4400
3.	Lepsius	" 3890
4.	Bunsen, on the first occasion	" 3623
5.	Bunsen, on the second occasion	" 3059

showing a variation of nearly 2,000 years for the foundation of the Egyptian kingdom.

So as regards the time when that greatest of the seven wonders of the ancient world, the Great Pyramid of Ghizeh, was erected,

the differences among scholars of the present day are still more marked. This will be seen in the following table:

1.	Le Suer computes the building of the Great Pyramid	B.C. 4975
2.	Brugsch-Bey	" 3657
3.	Bunsen	" 3460
4.	Lepsius	" 3426
5.	Piazzi Smyth, the Astronomer Royal of Scotland	" 2170
6.	The late Sir George Cornwalle Lewis	" 993

Thus showing a difference of nearly 4,000 years! The only one of the above quoted authorities whose date may be accepted as the most correct, and this only approximately, is that of Professor Piazzi Smyth; and he is far from ignoring Scripture, though we believe he accepts the Septuagint computation in preference to that of the Hebrew.

The Earliest Inscribed Monuments.

As many Egyptologers in the present day ignore the evidence of Scripture on this subject, it is satisfactory to know that the elder Champollion, who may be regarded as the founder of Egyptology, in allusion to such skeptics once wrote: "They will find in this work an absolute reply to their calumnies, since I have demonstrated that *no Egyptian monument is really older than the year* 2200 *B. C.** This certainly is very high antiquity, but it presents nothing contradictory to the sacred histories, and I venture to affirm that it establishes them on all points: for it is, in fact, by adopting the chronology and the succession of kings given by the Egyptian monuments, that the Egyptian history accords with the sacred writings." † More recent discoveries in Egypt since Champollion's time have proved that a tablet, which has been in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford for upward of two centuries, must be approximately dated about B.C. 2300, and therefore about a century older than any monument known to the learned Frenchman.

Assuming, then, for a moment, that this Oxford monument, as being the oldest proof of man's existence at present known to us, may be dated within a century of the biblical date of the Noachian flood, *circa* B.C. 2348, we have the authority of the Turin papyrus for saying that only 355 years elapsed between the era of Menes, or the first colonization of Egypt, and the end of the sixth dynasty. This would give the approximate date to the end of the sixth dynasty somewhere in the twenty-first century B.C. It has long been seen by Egyptologers that some of Manetho's dynasties are certainly contemporaneous. It is the failure of not seeing this which has caused certain authors to prolong the dura-

* The author of "Grant's Travels Around the World" says that for other antiquities we have only traditions and doubtful records; for Egypt there are the sure monuments. And certainly an inscribed contemporary monument would be a very conclusive voucher. But, lo, the earliest monument is of about the era of Abraham!—Ed.

† "Ancient Egypt, its Monuments and History," p. 56.

tion of some of the early dynasties far beyond what the truth of history warrants.

A series of Pharaohs, discovered by Mariette-Bey on a tomb at Saqqarah, near Memphis, implies that in the order of succession *the sixth dynasty is immediately followed by the twelfth dynasty.* In the sepulchral grottoes of *Beni Hassan*, on the banks of the Nile, there are still to be seen some inscriptions belonging to the early kings of the last-named dynasty. Special mention is there made of the "Panegyry, or Festival of the First Year," which Poole refers to the commencement of the *tropical cycle*, that is, a perfectly exact cycle of the sun, moon, and vague year, which happened in the reign of Amenemes, one of the early kings of the twelfth dynasty, and which the science of astronomy has enabled the Astronomer Royal of England to fix at the date of B.C. 2005.*

Era of Abraham.

According to the Hebrew chronology, Abraham's visit to Egypt took place not many years before that date, *circa* B.C. 2010. According to the testimony of Josephus, when Abraham went down into Egypt he found the Egyptians quarreling concerning their sacred rites. By his skill in disputation the patriarch confuted the arguments on all sides, and by his influence succeeded in composing their differences. Moreover he is said to have taught the Egyptians arithmetic and the science of astronomy, for before the time of Abraham, Josephus says, "they were unacquainted with that sort of learning."† The Jewish historian does not give his authority for such a statement, but when it is remembered that the temple records of Egypt were still in existence at the time when Josephus wrote, and that his work was specially addressed to the Greek and Egyptian philosophers of Alexandria as an apology for his own nation, we may accept his statement as true history. Moreover, this remarkable incident in the life of Abraham is confirmed, according to Eusebius,‡ by two heathen historians, Berosus and Eupolemus, both of whom lived between three and four centuries prior to the time of Josephus.

Osburn adduces some evidence in proof of Abraham's visit to Egypt having occurred during the reign of Pharaoh Aethoes, the father of Amenemes, the first king of the famous twelfth dynasty, and asserts with confidence that while "of Aethoes and his times, and of those of all his predecessors, there exists no single record of king or subject *having a date*, yet tablets and papyri inscribed with dates of the years of the reign of Amenemes, the son and immediate successor of Aethoes, are not uncommon. The same practice continued with all the successors of Amenemes to the end of the monarchy."§

* Poole's *Horæ Ægyptiæ*, part i, § 11.
† Josephus, "Antiquities," lib. i, c. viii, §§ 1, 2.
‡ Eusebius, *Præparat. Evangel.*, § 9.
§ Osburn's "Monumental History of Egypt," vol. i, chap. vi.

We have thus some authentic evidence for concluding that these three coinciding events, namely, the visit of Abraham to Egypt in the reign of Acthoes, the knowledge of arithmetic acquired by the Egyptians as proved by the introduction of *dates* on the monuments of that period, and the establishment of the earliest cycle, known as "the Tropical Cycle:" all these events must have taken place within a few years of the date B.C. 2000. And since this synchronises with the biblical date for the time of Abraham's visit, it is satisfactory to know that the Egyptian monuments afford still more conclusive proof of the correctness of the Hebrew chronology for the succeeding fifteen centuries.

Era of Israel's Sojourn.

Before, however, proceeding to show from the monuments the confirmation of the biblical story of the Exodus, it may be well to notice what we gather from Scripture respecting the interval of four hundred and thirty years mentioned in Exod. xii, 40, between the time of Abraham and the exode of the children of Israel from the land of Egypt. We have already found some evidence for computing the date of the exode at B.C. 1580, and the time of Abraham at B.C. 2010. And the date of a very important event in the history of Egypt, namely, the overthrow of the Shepherd dynasty, is fixed by Brugsch, in his interpretation of Manetho, to the year B.C. 1706, the starting-point of what he considers to be reliable chronology, whereas all previous chronology must be regarded as more or less conjectural. The following table, founded on Scripture testimony, will show a very important synchronism in the combined histories of Israel and Egypt. In the first chapter of Exodus it is recorded that "Joseph died, and all his brethren, and all that generation;" and it is added in the verse following, "Now there arose up a new king which knew not Joseph," evidently implying a marked change in the treatment of Joseph's people at the hands of the Egyptians from that which they had formerly received. This can only be explained by the great change which must have ensued on the transfer of power from the rule of the foreign Hycsos, or Shepherd kings, to that of the native dynasty of the Pharaohs. In Exod. vi, 16 the death of Levi, the brother of Joseph, and the last surviving member of that generation, as we may fairly assume, is recorded at the age of one hundred and thirty-seven, and the year before the rise of the new king, which took place, according to the testimony of Manetho, B.C. 1706; the death of Levi having taken place in the preceding year, as our table, gathered out of Scripture, clearly shows:

	B.C.	Year of call.	Genesis.
Abraham's visit to Egypt at the age of 75.....	2010	1	xii, 1, 4, 10.
Isaac born when Abraham was 100	1985	25	xxii, 1, 21.
Isaac married Rebecca when 40	1945	65	xxv, 20.
Jacob born when Isaac was 60.....	1925	85	xxv, 26.
Abraham's death at 175.....	1910	100	xxv, 7.

	B.C.	Year of call.	Genesis.
Joseph born when Jacob was 91	1834	176	xlv, 6; xlvii, 9.
Joseph sold into Egypt at 17	1817	193	xxxvii, 2.
Joseph viceroy of Egypt when 30	1804	206	xli, 46.
End of the seven years' plenty	1797	213	xli, 47, 54.
Jacob presented to Pharaoh when 130, in the second year of the seven years' famine	1795	215	xlv, 6; xlvii, 9.
Jacob's death at the age of 147	1778	232	xlvii, 28.
Joseph's death at the age of 110	1724	286	l, 26.
			Exodus.
Levi's death at the age 137	1707	303	i, 6; vi, 16.
Rise of the king which knew not Joseph	1706	304	i, 8.
Moses born	1660	350	ii, 1–10.
Moses flies to Midian when 40	1620	390	ii, 15, Acts vii, 23.
The exodus, when Moses was 80	1580	430	vii, 7; xii, 40, 41.

Thus the exodus took place "at the end of four hundred and thirty years"—even to the very day—after God had called Abraham to go from his fathers' country into the land of Canaan. But, inasmuch as much controversy has arisen respecting the duration of the sojourn in Egypt—Bunsen extending it, as we have already seen, to 1,434 years; while his collaborateur Lepsius limits it to 90 years—it may be well to examine carefully the text which treats on this important point. The Authorized Version of Exod. xii, 40, reads as follows: "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, *who dwelt in Egypt*, was 430 years." It will be seen by this that Scripture does not necessarily imply that the Israelites were either in Egypt or in servitude during the whole of that period; for it plainly teaches that though their *sojourning* lasted 430 years, it was only a portion of that time that they dwelt in Egypt, and a still more limited portion in which they were enslaved. Such appears to be the teaching of Hebrews xi, 9, where it is said, "By faith Abraham *sojourned* in the land of promise as in a strange country, dwelling in tabernacles with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs with him of the same promise." This is confirmed by the reading both of the Samaritan Pentateuch and the LXX., all of which in the various MSS., as Kennicott * observes, are uniform on this matter, and read the text as follows: "Now the *sojourning* of the children of Israel, and of their fathers, when they *sojourned* in the land of Canaan, and in the land of Egypt, was 430 years." And so St. Paul, in Gal. iii, 16, 17, declares that "the promises to Abraham and his seed were confirmed by the law (given on Mount Sinai) which was 430 years *after*" they had been first made.

That the Jews of all ages so understood the text may be thus shown. Demetrius,† who flourished in the third century B.C., reckoned 215 years from the call of Abraham to the going down into Egypt; 135 years from that to the birth of Moses; and 80 years more to the exode; which sums up—215+135+80=430. Josephus, four centuries after Demetrius, expressly says, that "the children of Israel left Egypt in the month Xanthicus, on

* Kennicott, "Dissert.," ii, pp. 164, 165.

† Demetrius, *apud. Euseb. Præp. Evang.*, ix, § 21.

the 15th day of the month, 430 years after our forefather Abraham came into Canaan, but only 215 years after Jacob removed into Egypt."* Both the Jerusalem and the Babylonian Talmuds speak of the sojourning of the Israelites as including that "in Egypt and in *all other lands*" besides.† Aben Ezra, a learned Jew, and Joseph Goriondes, of the tenth century, interpret the passage in the following way: "The sojourning of the children of Israel in Egypt *and in other lands* was 430 years. Notwithstanding they abode in Egypt only 210 years, according to what their father Jacob told them, to 'descend' or *go down* to Egypt, which in Hebrew signifies 210. Furthermore, the computation of 430 years is from the year that Isaac was born, which was the holy seed unto Abraham." ‡

The testimony of the early Christian writers is to the same effect. Eusebius § distinctly says that it is "by the unanimous consent of all interpreters" that the text should be so understood. Augustine, in his Forty-seventh Question on Exodus, as well as in his "City of God," ‖ taught that the 430 years included the sojourn in Canaan as well as in Egypt. And Sulpicius Severus says: "From the entrance of Abraham into Canaan until the exode there were 430 years."¶ These interpreters of the text of Scripture appear to have well understood the force of an argument, which some in the present day have strangely overlooked, that if the 430 years are to be counted only from the time of Jacob's descent into Egypt until the exode, *the mother of Moses must have given birth to her son* 262 *years after her father's death*, according to the biblical computation, which is a physical impossibility. Hence Clinton wisely observes: "Some writers have very unreasonably doubted this portion of the Hebrew chronology, as if it were uncertain how this period of 430 years was to be understood. Those who cast a doubt upon this point refuse to Moses, an inspired writer—in the account of his mother and father and grandfather—that authority which would be given to the testimony of a profane author on the same occasion." **

Era of Joseph.

We have already seen that the time of Abraham's visit to Egypt synchronized probably with the reign of Pharaoh Aethoes, shortly before the commencement of the twelfth dynasty, which in round numbers may be dated *circa* B.C. 2000. Consequently the time of Joseph being sold as a slave into Egypt would fall *circa* B.C. 1800, *when a Shepherd dynasty was seated on the throne*

* Josephus, "Antiquities," ii, xv, § 2.
† *T. Hierosol. Megillah*, fol. 71, 4; *T. Babyl. Meg.*, fol. 9, 1.
‡ "Historie of the Latter Tymes of the Jewes' Common Weal." By Joseph Ben Gorion. Translated by Peter Morwing, pp. 2, 3. Oxford, A.D. 1567.
§ Euseb., *Chron. Can. Lib. Prior*, § 19.
‖ August., *De Civit. Dei*, lib. xvi, § 24.
¶ Sulpic. Sev., *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. xxvi, § 4.
** Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. i, p. 299, Appendix.

of the Pharaohs. This is seen in the fact that Brugsch-Bey, in his "History of Egypt under the Pharaohs," considers that any thing like correct Egyptian chronology can only be said to commence with the rise of the celebrated eighteenth dynasty, which he dates approximately at B.C. 1700, as in his earlier work on Egypt he dates it more exactly at B.C. 1706; and inasmuch as he is perhaps the first of Egyptologers who has given his attention to this particular branch of the subject, and as it harmonizes perfectly with the Hebrew chronology deducible from Scripture, we may accept the learned writer's conclusions on this point as most right and just.

That Joseph's captivity and subsequent viceroyalty over the land of Egypt occurred during the reign of the Hycsos or Shepherd kings is apparent from various incidents recorded in Scripture. We learn there that no sooner had the Jewish captive interpreted the dream of the king of Egypt than "the thing appeared good in Pharaoh's eyes, and he said unto his servants, Can we find such a one as this is, a man in whom *the spirit of God is?* And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Forasmuch as God hath showed thee all this, see, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt." Gen. xli, 37–41.

In order to understand this remarkable fact of a heathen king recognizing at once the God of Israel, we must consider who this king really was. As far as we can gather from the traditions of ancient times, it unquestionably was one of the Hycsos or Shepherd kings; and though recent discoveries have made it doubtful whether the current tradition was strictly correct, we have monumental proof of its general accuracy. Syncellus, a Byzantine historian of the eighth century, writes that "All are agreed that Joseph governed Egypt under Apophis, *and commenced in the seventeenth year of his reign.*" Apophis is represented in Manetho's lists to have reigned sixty-one years; and the monuments show that Apophis was contemporary with the immediate predecessor of the head of the eighteenth dynasty, "the new king which knew not Joseph." Our comparison of the synchronisms in the histories of Israel and Egypt show that the rise of this new king and the death of Joseph synchronized with each other. Now, Scripture shows that Joseph began to govern Egypt at the age of thirty, and died at one hundred and ten, leaving eighty years for his government of the country, supposing him to have been in office the whole of that period. But if his government commenced, according to the tradition, "in the seventeenth" year of Apophis' reign, the duration of which was sixty-one years, this would only leave forty-four years out of eighty for Joseph's rule under Apophis. Moreover, the discovery of the Zoan Tablet with a recognized era throws some additional light on this complicated portion of Egyptian history.

A few years ago Mariette-Bey found in the ruins of the great temple at Avaris or Tanis (the Zoan of Scripture) a *stele* of the reign of Ramessu the Great, showing that it was put up "in the

four hundredth year of the era of Noubti." M. de Rougé, in his account of Mariette's discovery, says that "Noubti belonged incontestably to the Shepherd dynasty, and is a local form of Sutekh," one of the Hycsos kings who preceded Pharaoh Apophis. "So that," continues de Rougé, "the four hundredth year of Noubti means the same as the four hundredth year of the god Sutekh." * The year of Ramessu's reign when this tablet was set up is not stated. But assuming that it was in the early part of his reign, which extended, according to Brugsch, B.C. 1407–1341, and that 1404 was the exact year, this would give the *terminus a quo* for the era of Noubti-Sutekh as B.C. 1804, when Joseph was entering upon his government as viceroy of the king of Egypt.

But if Noubti-Sutekh was the actual Hycsos king who made Joseph his prime minister, Joseph may equally have been in office during the whole of Apophis' (the successor of Noubti) reign. It has been further proved from the monuments that the deity exclusively worshiped by the shepherds under the name of "SUTEKH" was the local god of Syria, from which country Joseph and his patron, the king of Egypt, had alike come: as it is written of Jacob: "A Syrian ready to perish was my father, and he went down to Egypt and sojourned there with a few, and became there a nation, great, mighty, and populous." Deut. xxvi, 5. A papyrus now in the British Museum, entitled "Sallier I.," of the time of Ramessu the Great, throws considerable light on this subject, and it shows Apophis, the Hycsos king, supreme over all the land of Egypt, and acknowledging *Sutekh*, the Syrian god, as the sole deity whom he worshiped. This important passage reads as follows: "It came to pass when the land was held by the Hycsos, Ra-skenen was ruling in the south, and Pharaoh Apophis was in his palace at Avaris. The whole land paid homage to him with their manufactures and all the precious things of the country. Pharaoh Apophis had set up Sutekh for his lord; *he worshiped no other god in the whole land.*"

This noticeable fact of the Hycsos king having been devoted to the worship of Sutekh has been confirmed by the discovery of a colossal statue at Avaris, the capital of the Hycsos sovereigns, with the following inscription, "PHARAOH APOPHIS, WORSHIPER OF THE GOD SUTEKH." Hence observes Brugsch-Bey, "The mention of this god in combination with the Shepherd king proves most clearly what is stated in the papyrus concerning Apophis having been specially devoted to the worship of this god, to the exclusion of all the other deities of the whole country." †

* *Revue Archéologique* for 1865, vol. xi, p. 169; and likewise vol. x, p. 130. In a work published at Leipzig in 1875, entitled, "The Sun and Sirius Year of the Ramesides, with the Secret of the Intercalation and the Year of Julius Cæsar," the author, Herr Karl Riel, adduces evidence in great detail to prove that the four hundredth year of the era Noubti extended from B.C. 1766 to 1366, which, if correct, would do equally well with our conjecture in the text, the only difference being that Karl Riel's estimate would make it fall toward the end, in place of the beginning, of Ramessu's long reign.

† Brugsch, *Histoire d'Egypte*, p. 79.

The well-known hieroglyphic of the god *Sutekh* represents him under the form of a nondescript quadruped animal, *with the head of an ass.* He is so represented in the time of Apophis,* and 400 years later in that of Ramessu the Great, when Sutekh had long been admitted into the Pantheon of the native Pharaohs. In the treaty of peace between Ramessu and the Hittites of Syria, under Khitasir their king, which is still to be seen on an outer wall of the grand temple of Karnac, the inscription reads, "That which is in the middle of this silver tablet and on its front side is a likeness of the god Sutekh," surrounded by an inscription to this effect, *This is the picture of the god* SUTEKH, *king of heaven and earth.* †

There is ample monumental proof that very shortly after the conquest of the Shepherds, Sutekh came to be regarded by the Egyptians under a very different aspect from what they did when they considered him as the deity of their enemies the Hycsos. Mariette says he will "not be surprised if fresh discoveries show that Amosis, the conqueror of the Hycsos, in his turn sacrificed to the god Sutkeh." At all events it is certain that Amosis' grandson, Thothmes III., acknowledged this deity; for in a fine tablet on a wall in the Temple of Karnac, Sutekh is represented as instructing that Pharaoh in the use of the bow. And two and a half centuries later the Temple of Abou-Simbel was dedicated by Ramessu the Great to the four principal deities in the Egyptian Pantheon at that period of history, namely, Ammon, Phthah, Ra, and *Sutekh.*‡ In the reign of Ramessu's son a monument at Thebes represents Manepthah worshiping "the god Sutekh of Avaris." Ewald, in his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel,* p. 450, asserts that *Avaris* means philologically nothing less than "the city of the Hebrews;" and De Rougé shows from the monuments that Avaris is the same as the Tanis of the Greeks, and the Zoan of Scripture, which in Hebrew signifies "motion," and the equivalent in the old Egyptian tongue for "the place of departure," from which the Israelites went forth at the time of the Exodus. Hence we may not be far wrong if we interpret the inscription "The god Sutekh of Avaris," as bearing in its esoteric meaning the sense of "JEHOVAH, THE GOD OF THE CITY OF THE HEBREWS."

Although no monumental proof has yet been discovered in Egypt, speaking of a FAMINE of exactly seven years' duration, such as followed the seven years' plenty when Joseph became viceroy of Egypt, yet Brugsch has produced satisfactory evidence that *such a famine did occur during the reign of Pharaoh Apophis,* which affords additional confirmation to the opinion that he was in reality the patron of the Hebrew slave. Brugsch-Bey adduces very strong evidence in favor of a tomb inscription, of the time of Pharaoh Apophis, bearing on this portion of the story of the Exodus as related in Holy Writ. "We have," he says, "great

* See Lepsius, *Königsbuch der Alten Agypten,* Tafeln xv.

† Brugsch, "History of Egypt under the Pharaohs," vol. ii, p. 74.

‡ Burton's *Excerpta Hieroglyphica,* plate xxxvii.

satisfaction in adding another very remarkable and clear confirmation of our remarks on the tradition preserved by Syncellus and received by the whole world, that *Joseph ruled the land in the reign of King Apophis*, whose age within a few years corresponds with the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty. Upon the grounds of an old Egyptian inscription, hitherto unknown, whose author must have been a contemporary of Joseph and his family, we hope to adduce a proof that Joseph and the Hycsos cannot henceforth be separated from one another. The inscription which appears to us so important exists in one of the tombs at El-Kab. From the style of the internal pictorial decoration of the rock chambers, but principally from the name of its owner, BABA, we consider that the tomb was erected in the times immediately preceding the eighteenth dynasty. Although no royal cartouche ornaments the walls of the tomb, to give us certain information about the exact time of its erection, yet the following considerations are calculated to inform us on this point, and fortunately to fill up the gaps." Then Brugsch continues to describe the tomb of this Baba, which contains the following simple child-like representation of his happy existence on earth, owing to his great riches in point of children: "The chief of the table of princes, Baba, the risen again, he speaks thus: I loved my father, I honored my mother; my brother and my sisters loved me; I stepped out of the door of my house with a benevolent heart; I stood there with refreshing hand, and splendid were the preparations of what I collected for the feast day. Mild was my heart, free from noisy anger. The gods bestowed upon me a rich fortune on earth. The city wished me health and a life full of freshness. I punished the evil doers. My children, which stood opposite to me in the town during the days I have fulfilled, were sixty in number, small as well as great, and they had as many beds, chairs, and tables as they required. My speech may appear somewhat facetious to my enemies, but I call the god Month to witness to its truth. I collected in the harvest, a friend of the harvest god. I was watchful at the time of sowing. *And now, when a famine arose, lasting many years, I issued out corn to every hungry person in the city which I ruled.*"

"The only just conclusion," adds Brugsch on this remarkable discovery, "is that the many years of famine in the time of Baba must precisely correspond with the seven years of famine under Joseph's Pharaoh, one of the Shepherd kings." Then he continues to show how applicable the details recorded in Scripture respecting the story of Joseph are to the history of Egypt at this period, by remarking: "Joseph's Hycsos-Pharaoh reigned in Avaris or Zoan, the later Ramses-town, and held his court in the Egyptian style, but without excluding the Semitic language. His Pharaoh has proclaimed before him in Semitic language an *Abrek*, that is, 'bow the knee,' a word which is still retained in the hieroglyphic dictionary, and was adopted by the Egyptians to express their feeling of reverence at the sight of an important

person or object. He bestows on him the high dignity of a Zaphnatpaneakh, governor of the Sethroitic nome. On the Egyptian origin of the offices of an Adon and Ab, which Joseph attributes to himself before his family, I have already made all the remarks necessary. The name of his wife, Asnat, is pure Egyptian, and almost entirely confined to the old and middle empire. It is derived from the very common female name Sant, or Snat. The father of his wife, the priest of On-Heliopolis, is a pure Egyptian, whose name, Potiphera, meant in the native language Putiper'a, (or pher'a,) 'the gift of the sun.'"*

Brugsch's admission that Joseph became viceroy of Egypt under one of the Hycsos kings is a sufficient reply to those Egyptologers who consider that the reading of Genesis xlvi, 34, in the Authorized Version, "every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians," contradicts the idea. But we think that a careful examination of the context of that very passage proves that Brugsch is right. For did not Joseph, when his father and his brethren had come down to Egypt, and he was about to present them to his patron the reigning sovereign, prompt them to declare to the king that they were "shepherds" whose trade had been to feed cattle? "When Pharaoh shall call you and shall say, What is your occupation? ye shall say, Thy servants' trade hath been about cattle from our youth even until now, both we and also our fathers: that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen; for every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians." Now how could Joseph have advised his brethren to give such an answer to the inquiring king, unless that he had been a Pharaoh of the Hycsos or Shepherd dynasty?

Another instance of the harmony between the histories of Israel and Egypt is to be found in the record of Joseph's death. The Book of Genesis closes with these words: "So Joseph died, being a hundred and ten years old, and they embalmed him, and he was put in a coffin in Egypt." Now it is an interesting fact that the monuments show that about this very period of history the Egyptians recognized the term of 110 years as the limit of human longevity; and, as this can be traced for several centuries back, to almost the period of Joseph's death, we may infer that the expression "the happy life of 110 years" became proverbial among the Egyptians from the very high esteem in which their greatest benefactor was held. An inscription in the British Museum from the tomb of one *Raka*, of the time of Ramessu the Great, (fourteenth century B. C.,) and another in the Munich Museum, on a statue of *Baken-Konsoro*, the high-priest of Ammon in the following century, with a third in the British Museum, carved on a black stone in hieratic characters in place of hieroglyphs, (a most unusual circumstance,) belonging to the time of Amenophis III., of the sixteenth century B.C.—all these speak alike of thankfulness for repose in the tomb "after a happy

* Brugsch, "History of Egypt under the Pharaohs," vol. i, pp. 262–265.

life of 110 years on earth." And in the select papyri of the British Museum, named *Anastasi*, 3, pl. 4, we find similar expressions which remind us of the death of the great lawgiver of the Jews, about a century and a half after the death of Joseph. "Thou approachest the fair *Amenti* [the place of repose for the dead] without growing old, without being feeble; thou completest the happy life of 110 years upon earth, thy limbs being still vigorous and strong." And so Scripture records that "Moses was a hundred and twenty years when he died; his eye was not dim nor his natural force abated."* Moreover, Mariette-Bey has shown, in his description of the tombs belonging to the first six dynasties, and therefore prior to the time of Joseph by some centuries, that the limit of human longevity was higher among the Egyptians, (as it was with the Hebrews,) in those early times, than it subsequently became in after ages. Thus in place of the later formula, "May you obtain repose in the tomb after a happy life of 110 years on earth," the earlier one ran as follows: "May you obtain repose, etc., after a happy and prolonged old age," without any number of years being specified.†‡ From these circumstances we gather that the monuments of Egypt confirm the Scripture narrative respecting the age of Joseph at his death.

Era of Israel's Egyptian Bondage.

"The age of King Apophis," says Brugsch, "corresponds within a few years with the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty." This affords the most important synchronism between the histories of Israel and Egypt, not only in respect to chronology, but respecting the great change which must have ensued when Amosis, the head of the eighteenth dynasty, conquered the Hyesos, and the favored race of Israel, who were until that time dwelling "in the land of Goshen, the best part of the land of Egypt," were reduced to the condition of bond slaves. We have already seen that the death of Levi, the last of Joseph's brethren, occurred, according to the Hebrew computation, confirmed by secular chronology, B.C. 1707; and that the following year, according to Brugsch's reading of Manetho, saw the conquest of the Hyesos by the chief of the eighteenth dynasty, which is thus tersely announced in the book of Exodus: "Now there arose up a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph." Then immediately commenced the enslavement of the Israelites, occasioned by the fear of the new king that "the people of the children of Israel (might become) more and mightier than we. Therefore they did set over them task-masters to afflict them with their burdens. And the Israelites built for Pharaoh treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses. But the more they afflicted them the more they grew. And the Egyptians made the children of Israel to

* Deut. xxxiv, 7.

† *Revue Archéologique*, for 1868, p. 388.

‡ Our readers will note in this shortening of human life a remarkable suggestion in regard to the still greater longevity of the antediluvian age.—Ed.

serve with rigor: and they made their lives bitter with hard bondage." Exod. i, 6–14.

One of the first tasks imposed on the afflicted children of Israel was to build two treasure cities named *Pithom* and *Raamses*. It is commonly assumed by those Egyptologers who ignore the supremacy of Scripture that as the name of one of these places was "*Raamses*," it must be accepted as proof that Ramesses, or Rameessu,* as his name is more frequently written, commonly called "the Great," must have been the "new king which knew not Joseph." But, independent of the fact that history as well as chronology are alike subversive of this theory, it goes a great deal farther than its founders contemplate, for it equally shows that the same name must have been in use nearly a century earlier, namely, at the commencement of Joseph's rule, when "he placed his father and his brethren, and gave them a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, *in the land of Raamses*, as Pharaoh had commanded." Gen. xlvii, 11. Moreover, since the several instances recorded in Scripture during the 126 years of bondage which remained to the children of Israel after the rise of the new king do agree very closely with the history of the early kings of the eighteenth dynasty, and do not in any wise accord with the history of Egypt after the accession of Rameses the Great, there should not remain in the mind of any one who bows in reverence to the oracles of God the slightest doubt to whom belongs the shame of having reduced the inoffensive children of Israel from their quiet life in Goshen to a state of the most cruel bondage.

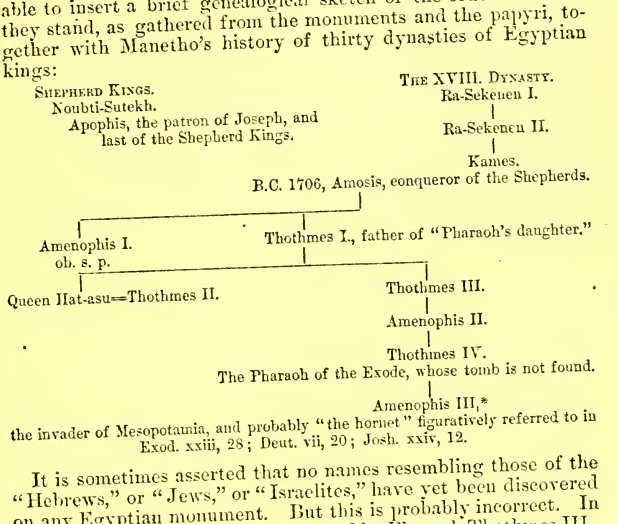
The name of "Pithom" has been identified by Brugsch with the *Pi-chtoum en Zalou*, that is, "the treasure city of Thoum, built by foreign captives,"† and which occurs in the annals of Pharaoh Thothmes III., grandson of Amosis, the new king which knew not Joseph; and there can be little doubt but that it was the original treasure city *Pithom*, built by the enslaved children of Israel. So as regards the other treasure city, which is variously rendered in the Authorized Version as *Raamses* or *Rameses;* which some Egyptologers contend is a proof that it is confined to the Pharaohs of the nineteenth dynasty. But this is a mistake; Lepsius in his *Königsbuch* shows that Amosis, the conqueror of the Shepherds, and founder of the eighteenth dynasty, had a son whose name in hieroglyphs reads Ra-M SS. The *Raamses* of Exodus was written in Hebrew R H M S S, and sufficiently near in sound to the son of Amosis to warrant the conclusion that they refer to one and the same name.

We have already noticed that various incidents recorded in Scripture connected with the story of the Exodus accord with the history of the early kings of the eighteenth dynasty. And in order to see at a glance the claims which they have for identifi-

* See Lepsius, *Königsbuch der Alten Ägypter*, Tafeln xxxii.

† Comp. Brugsch, *Hist. d'Egypte*, p. 129, with Brugsch, *Géograph. Inscript.*, iii, 21.

cation with the Pharaohs of the time of Moses, it may be advisable to insert a brief genealogical sketch of the order in which they stand, as gathered from the monuments and the papyri, together with Manetho's history of thirty dynasties of Egyptian kings:


Shepherd Kings.
Noubti-Sutekh.
Apophis, the patron of Joseph, and last of the Shepherd Kings.
The XVIII. Dynasty.
Ra-Sekenen I.
Ra-Sekenen II.
Kames.
B.C. 1706, Amosis, conqueror of the Shepherds.
Amenophis I. ob. s. p.
Thothmes I., father of "Pharaoh's daughter,"
Queen Hat-asu=Thothmes II.
Thothmes III.
Amenophis II.
Thothmes IV.
The Pharaoh of the Exode, whose tomb is not found.
Amenophis III,*
the invader of Mesopotamia, and probably "the hornet" figuratively referred to in Exod. xxiii, 28; Deut. vii, 20; Josh. xxiv, 12.

It is sometimes asserted that no names resembling those of the "Hebrews," or "Jews," or "Israelites," have yet been discovered on any Egyptian monument. But this is probably incorrect. In the statistical tablet of Karnac, erected by Pharaoh Thothmes III., on which Dr. Birch has commented with his usual ability, we find among the various captives under that king the name of *Hebu*, (Brugsch, i, 364, reads the name as *Hibu*, in Abusembel called *Hibuu*) as the seventy-ninth on the list, which is sufficiently like the word *Hebrew* to make it possible that they refer to one and the same people.

So in an inscription deciphered by Brugsch, certain captives called "*the Finchu*," of the time of Amosis, "the king which knew not Joseph," are mentioned as employed in transporting blocks of limestone from the quarries of Rufu to Memphis and other Egyptian cities. According to Brugsch, the name means "bearers of the shepherd's staff," and the occupation of these captives corresponds with the forced labor of the children of Israel during their bondage. Hence he observes, in his *Geograph-*

* Amenophis III. extended his conquests as far as Mesopotamia, and must have passed through Canaan, weakening the power of its inhabitants, at the very time the Israelites were wandering in the wilderness, thus fulfilling God's purpose, as mentioned in Josh. xxiv, 12, and other passages of Holy Writ. One of the well-known symbols of the Egyptian kings is a "hornet," just as marked a feature in their heraldry as the lion is in that of the kings of England. The writer has in his possession a large rubbing or squeeze of Amenophis III.'s name, sent him by a friend from Egypt, in which the "hornet" is very plainly represented over the cartouche of the king's name.

ische Inschriften, "with this name are designated the pastoral and nomad tribes of Semitic origin, who lived in the neighborhood of Egypt, and who are to be thought of standing to Egypt in the same relation as the Jews." In his more recent history, Brugsch speaks of the same people when describing the conquests of Pharaoh Shishak, of the time of Rheoboam, the son of Solomon, as follows: "The smitten peoples (Jews and Edomites) are named 'the *'Am* of a distant land,' and the *Fenkh*. (Phœnicians.) The *'Am* would, in this case, answer exactly to the equivalent Hebrew *'Am*, which signifies 'people,' but especially the people of Israel and their tribes. As to the mention of the *Fenkh*, I have a presentiment that we shall one day discover the evidence of their most intimate relationship with the Jews."*

Pharaoh's Daughter.

One of the earliest statements in the Book of Exodus after the enslavement of the Israelites under the rule of the new king which knew not Joseph, is the wonderful preservation of the child Moses by the instrumentality of Pharaoh's daughter. The name bestowed on the child by his royal preserver is thus described in Exodus: "And the child grew, and she [the child's mother] brought him unto Pharaoh's daughter, and he became her son. And she called his name Moses: and she said, Because I drew him out of the water." Hence Josephus ("Antiq.," ii, ix, 6) derives the name Moses from the Coptic for "water," and also "to deliver." And in strong confirmation of the truth of our understanding this period to apply to the eighteenth dynasty and not to the nineteenth dynasty, two centuries later, as some Egyptologers contend, this fact comes clearly out from our investigation of Egyptian history. The equivalent to the word Moses in hieroglyphs is found in the names of both the grandfather and father of "Pharaoh's daughter," both of which might be rendered according to the Greek transcript, as *Aa-moses*, *Thoth-moses*. Brugsch shows, in his "Hieroglyphic Dictionary," that the sense "drawing out" is the original one; but Birch seems to limit it to being "born" or "brought forth," and hence the signification of *Mes* or *Mesa* is "child." Canon Cook renders the speech of Pharaoh's daughter, on having adopted Moses as "her son"—"I gave him the name of Moses, 'brought forth,' because I brought him forth from the water."† And it is worthy of note that Josephus calls Pharaoh's daughter by the name of *Thur-muthis*, which is probably only another way of writing the name of her father *Thoth-moses*.

The other references in Scripture to Moses' treatment by Pharaoh's daughter, such as Acts vii, 22, and Heb. xi, 24, show that he was reared as her adopted son, with the possible succession to her throne, only that by grace he "chose rather to suffer affli-

* Brugsch's "History of Egypt under the Pharaohs," vol. ii, p. 210.
† Cook's "Excursus," in vol. i, p. 484, of the "Speaker's Commentary."

tion with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt." Further, we may fairly infer that this royal princess must have been a queen regnant in her own right, as none but such could have compelled a jealous priesthood to train her adopted child "in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." Now it may be shown from the monuments that in the whole line of Pharaohs, extending over nigh 2,000 years, there is only one real queen regnant with whose history we are at all acquainted during that long period of time. Her name appears on the monuments in full as *Hat-asu* or *Hosheps* (as it is variously read) *Numpt-amun*, and exactly in the place we should expect to find her from the account in Exodus, she being, as appears in the above genealogical tree, the granddaughter of "the king which knew not Joseph." She reigned many years most gloriously, first in the name of her father, then conjointly with her insignificant husband, and subsequently alone, until she took into partnership with herself, probably when Moses refused any longer to be called her son, her younger half-brother,* Thothmes III., who after her death showed the meanness of revenge by erasing, wherever he could, every sign of his great sister's rule over Egypt, either in malice on account of her having offered the succession to Moses, or from some other unknown cause.

There are many existing monumental proofs of her reign, the most glorious in the annals of the female sovereigns of Egypt, like that of her present majesty, our own Queen Victoria. She erected at Thebes two obelisks in honor of her father, one of which is still standing, and fragments of the other are scattered all around. The standing one, thirty feet higher than the obelisk which now adorns the Thames embankment, and certainly the most beautiful one in the world, is formed of a single block of red granite, ninety-eight feet in length, from the far Syene, highly polished, with reliefs and hieroglyphs of matchless beauty. The inscription on the plinth states that the work was commenced in the fifteenth year of her majesty's reign, on the first day of the month Mechir, and finished on the last day of the month Mesore, making seven months from its commencement in the mountain quarry. "Her Majesty," it adds, "gave two obelisks capped with

* Any one who has seen the beautiful style of features belonging to Queen Hatasu, as represented in Rossellini's great work, and compares it with the hideous original bust of Thothmes III., in the British Museum, with its strongly-developed negro cast of countenance, will be inclined to doubt if they could be as nearly related as half brother and sister. Sir G. Wilkinson, in describing a statue of Thothmes III., where Queen Hat-asu is called his "sister," observes that "she was probably only so by an earlier marriage of his father;" and such was the hatred borne by Thothmes against her, that, after her death, he ordered her name to be erased from her monuments and his own to be sculptured in its stead. But this was not always done with the care required to conceal the alterations; and sentences of this kind frequently occur: "King Thothmes, *she* has made this work for *her* father Amun."—Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's "Herodotus," App., ii, viii. 19. Such animosity, as shown by the unforgiving brother toward his great sister after death, can only be explained in the way we have suggested above.

gold, and so high that each pyramidal cap should reach to the heavens, that she should place them before the pylon of her father, Thothmes I., in order that her name should remain always and forever in this temple." Among other titles which the obelisk bears, such as those of "Royal Wife," "Queen of Upper and Lower Egypt," is found the significant and well-known name of "PHARAOH'S DAUGHTER."

The temple of *Der-el-bahri* is another monument due to the munificence of this great queen, under the superintendence of one Semnut, the son of Rames, the chief architect of all Egypt during her reign. And although Brugsch seems to entertain an unworthy prejudice against Queen Hat-asu, he admits that her buildings are "the most tasteful and most brilliant specimens of the matchless splendor of Egyptian art history." The walls of this temple, besides recording the expedition of her fleet to the shores of Arabia Felix, in order to collect the marvelous productions of this country—which recalls to mind the voyages of Solomon's fleet to the same country seven centuries later—such as gums, scents, incense, trees, ebony, ivory, gold, emeralds, asses, etc., etc., give the details of a campaign against the Ethiopians in the Arabian peninsula. They represent the Egyptian commander-in-chief of Queen Hat-asu's army receiving the enemy's general, who presents himself as a suppliant before him, accompanied by his wife and daughter. And it is not impossible that the Egyptian queen's general may refer to her adopted son, *Moses;* as Scripture tells us that he became "mighty in words and in deeds" in Egypt; and Josephus and Irenæus alike relate "the fame which Moses gained as general of the Egyptian army in a war with Ethiopia,"* which, though somewhat incumbered with romance, still helps to explain a statement in the book of Numbers that Moses married a woman of that country.†

The most satisfactory proof, however, of the existence of the enslaved Israelites in Egypt at this period of history is found in the well-known picture of the brick-makers at the village of Gournou, near Thebes, at which place there is to be seen the remains, now fast crumbling away, of a magnificent tomb belonging to an Egyptian nobleman, named *Rekhmara.* He appears to have been overseer of all the public buildings in Egypt during the reign of Thothmes III. The paintings on this tomb, which are admirably delineated in Lepsius' grand work on Egypt,‡ not only afford evidence of the Israelites being in Egypt at the time Moses was compelled to flee to Midian, but of their having been forcibly engaged in the occupation of brick-making. There are several inscriptions on this monument, some of which read as follows:

* Josephus, "Antiq.," ii. x, § 2; Irenæus, *Frag. de Perdid Ieon. Tract.*, p. 847.

† Num. xii, 1. Three different explanations have been given of this text respecting the wife of Moses. 1. A real inhabitant of Ethiopia, or a Cushite. 2. Midian is, an Arabian. (See Bryant's "Analysis," vi, 122.) 2. The Ethiopian princess mentioned by Josephus. 3. Zipporah herself; which last opinion is possible from the juxtaposition of Cush with Midian in Hab. iii, 7.

‡ Lepsius, *Denkmäler Abeth.*, iii, pl. 40.

The center inscription reads—

> "Captives brought by Pharaoh, (Thothmes III.,)
> In order to carry on the works at the Temple of Amun."

On the left the inscription reads—

> "Molding bricks for making a treasure city in Thebes."

On the right—

> "The chief task-master says to the builders, 'Work hard—
> The stick is in my hands. Be not idle. Let there be no giving in.'"

On these inscriptions Brugsch observes: "The picture and the words present an important illustration of the accounts in the Bible concerning the hard bondage of the Jews in Egypt." And in reply to a criticism which has been made against so treating the illustration, because the captive Israelites were not likely to have been removed so far from the place of their original bondage, we may point out that the inscription pointedly says that the captives, some of whom bear the unmistakable features of the Hebrew race, had been "brought" from some place for this special service; and also the Book of Exodus states that "the people were scattered abroad throughout all the land of Egypt to gather stubble instead of straw."

Era of the Exodus.

Of the Pharaoh of the Exode the inscriptions give but little information, though sufficient to confirm our belief that it was the grandson and namesake of Thothmes III. to whom we must ascribe that great disgrace. It appears that his reign was short and inglorious, which agrees with what Scripture records of this infatuated king. A tablet between the paws of the Great Sphinx at Ghizeh is one of the few remaining monuments of his reign, besides the obelisk at Rome, standing opposite the Church of St. John Lateran, which bears the names of no less than three Pharaohs, with an interval of more than two centuries between them. It was commenced by Thotmes III., continued by Thothmes IV., and completed by Ramessu the Great. Another inscription of this reign on a granite rock opposite the island of Philæ has this singular circumstance connected with it. After the usual boasting titles, it stops suddenly short with the dejunctive particle "*then*," evidently pointing to defeat and disaster, which were certainly the characteristics of this Pharaoh's reign.* And the inference that he was the Pharaoh overthrown in the Red Sea appears to be confirmed by the fact that, after all the careful researches of modern explorers, *no trace of this king's tomb* has been found in the royal burial-place near Thebes, where the sovereigns of the eighteenth dynasty lie; while the tomb of his immediate successor, Amenophis III., has been discovered in a valley adjoining the cemetery of the other kings.†

* Osburn's "Monumental History of Egypt," ii, p. 318.
† Sir Gardner Wilkinson's "Thebes," pp. 122, 123.

This may be explained by the fact that the Pharaoh of the Exode was drowned in the Red Sea along with his army, as Moses in the story of the Exodus seems to imply, and as David in the Psalms positively declares, by his song of praise, "O give thanks to the Lord of lords: for his mercy endureth forever. To him that smote Egypt in their first-born: . . . and brought out Israel from among them . . . with a strong hand. . . . To him which divided the Red Sea into parts, . . . and made Israel to pass through the midst of it, . . . but *overthrew Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea:* for his mercy endureth forever." Psalm cxxxvi, 3–15.

Wilkinson and others have considered that the Mosaic record does not state as positively as it might the fact of Pharaoh himself having been drowned in the Red Sea along with his army, but that he continued on the throne for some time after the great catastrophe had taken place, as Sennacherib, king of Assyria, did some centuries later. If this be the correct interpretation of the Scripture account, it may serve to explain the tradition which Eusebius gives in the "Armenian Chronicle," * from Manetho's "History of Egypt," namely, that this Pharaoh, Thothmes IV., whom he calls *Armais*, after he had reigned four years in Egypt, was expelled from the country in the fifth year of his reign, by his younger brother *Danaus*, when he fled to Greece, where he founded the city of Argos. Other authorities call this fugitive king of Egypt *Cecrops;* as Augustine positively asserts that "in the reign of *Cecrops*, king of Athens, God brought his people out of Egypt by Moses." † Accepting this as one of the many floating traditions connected with the story of the Exodus, it receives a singular confirmation in the matter of chronology from an unexpected source. We have already seen that according to the Hebrew computation the date of the Exode may be fairly placed at B.C. 1580. Now the "Parian Chronicle" at Oxford, a witness of the most unexceptionable character, inasmuch as it was drawn up as early as B.C. 264, commences with this announcement: "Since *Cecrops* reigned at Athens, and the country was called Actica, from Actous, the native, 1,318 years have elapsed." ‡ Now 1,318+264=1,582, that is, within two years of the biblical computation for the date of the Exodus.

In confirmation that this Exodus date harmonizes better than any other system, besides what has already been gathered from Brugsch's reading of Manetho, we might adduce the testimony of the Apis Cycle, which has been so finely illustrated by Mariette-Bey, § whose discovery of sixty-four mummies of the Apis Bulls, from the time of Amenophis III., the successor of Thothmes IV., in the sixteenth century B.C., to the time of the Roman Conquest, B.C. 30, sufficiently accords with our computed date of

* Eusebius, "Chron. Canon," liber prior, cap. xx.

† Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, lib. xviii, § 8.

‡ *Marmora Arundelliana*, Seldon's edition, London, 1628, pp. 1 and 6.

§ *Le Sérapeum de Memphis Découvert et Décrit*, par M. Mariette, Paris, 1857.

the Exode to warrant our acceptance of the Apis Cycle—a well-known period of twenty-five years—as a confirmation of its truth.

Assuming, then, the identification of Thothmes IV. with the Pharaoh of the Exode, it is not quite certain that his successor Amenophis III., the Vocal Memnon on the plain of Thebes, either succeeded his reputed father immediately on his death, or was, indeed his son, as he pretended to be. The history of that period is singularly confused and perplexing at that very point, which is best explained by the disturbed state of the kingdom, which naturally followed the overthrow of Pharaoh's host in the Red Sea. Sir Gardner Wilkinson says that "Amenophis III. calls himself 'the son of Thothmes IV., the son of Amenophis II.;' there is reason to believe that he was not of pure Egyptian race. His features differ very much from those of other Pharaohs, and the respect paid to him by some of the 'Stranger Kings,' one of whom treats him as a god, seems to confirm this, and to argue that he was partly of the same race as those kings who afterward usurped the throne, and made their rule and name so odious to the Egyptians." * If this surmise be correct, it is noteworthy to see how far it agrees with the biblical statement that the eldest son of the Pharaoh of the Exode did not succeed his father on the throne, as it is written, "At midnight Jehovah smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt, *from the first-born of Pharaoh that sat on his throne*, unto the first-born of the captive that was in the dungeon." Exod. xii, 29.

The testimony of Manetho concerning this period of Egyptian history is, to a considerable extent, in harmony with the biblical story of the Exodus, though he mingles his account of that event with the expulsion of the Shepherds, for he mentions the leader of the Israelites by name, as well as the country to which they went. He says that "the Shepherds were subdued by Amosis, and driven out of Egypt, and shut up in a place called *Avaris*, with 480,000 men; and that, in despair of success, he compounded with them to quit Egypt, on which they departed, in number 240,000, and took their journey from Egypt through the wilderness to Syria, where they built a city, and named it *Jerusalem*, in a country now called *Judea*. It was also reported that the priest who ordained their government and their laws was by birth of Heliopolis; but that when he went over to these people his name was changed and he was called *Moses*." † Considering that Moses was reared at the court of Pharaoh, one of whose capitals was at Heliopolis, we see in this Egyptian tradition, which was current when Manetho wrote, about thirteen centuries later, an undesigned testimony to the truth of the story of the Exodus as recorded in Holy Writ.

* Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's "Herodotus," App., book ii, c. viii, § 21. See also Dr. Birch's paper in "Archæological Journal," No. 32, of Dec., 1851, in confirmation of the opinion that Amenophis had an elder twin brother, and that he succeeded his father when very young, and was for many years under his mother's tutelage.

† Manetho apud Joseph., *Contr. Apion*, i, §§ 14, 16.

Art. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Reviews.

Bibliotheca Sacra, July, 1880. (Andover.)—1. Do the Scriptures Prohibit the Use of Alcoholic Beverages? by Rev. A. B. Rich, D.D. 2. The Sabbath: the Change of Observance from the Seventh to the Lord's Day; by Rev. William Jay Love, D.D. 3. Church Parties as Apologists; by Rev. Francis Wharton, D.D., LL.D. 4. The Data of Ethics; by D. M'Gregor Means. 5. The New Testament Vocabulary; by Prof. Lemuel S. Potwin. 6. Relations of the Aryan and Semitic Languages; by Rev. J. F. M'Curdy, Ph.D. 7. Theological Education.

New Englander, September, 1880. (New Haven.)—1. Historical Position of Modern Missions; by Rev. N. G. Clark. 2. Professor Nordenskiold as an Arctic Explorer; by Rev. S. J. Douglass. 3. Bryant; by Rev. John L. T. Phillips. 4. The Avesta and the Storm-Myth; by Dr. J. Luquiens. 5. Relation of Evolution to Christianity and Rational Truth; by Rev. L. Curtis. 6. Forcing Truths and Duties into Antagonism; by Rev. F. A. Noble. 7. Do we Need an Ethical Revival? by Rev. Henry M. Goodwin.

New England Historical and Genealogical Register, July, 1880. (Boston.)—1. Biographical Sketch of Joel Munsell; by George R. Howell, Esq. 2. Munsell Genealogy; by Frank Munsell. 3. Records of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety. (Concluded.) 4. Gray and Coytmore; by William S. Appleton, A.M. 5. Bristol Church Records, 1710 to 1726. 6. Longmeadow Families. 7. Petition of William Horsham, 1684. 8. Taxes under Gov. Andros. 9. Marriage Certificate of John Tucker, 1688. 10. The Cumberland Cruiser. 11. Capt. Hugh Mason's Gravestones. 12. The Eggleston Family. 13. The Great Boston Fire of 1760. 14. Hallowell, Me., and its Library. 15. Records of the Rev. Samuel Danforth of Roxbury. 16. Church Genealogy. 17. Petition of the Friends or Quakers to the French National Assembly, 1791. 18. Schools in the Last Century. 19. Record of the Rev. John Cotton, 1691 to 1710. 20. Indenture of Apprenticeship, 1747.

North American Review, September, 1880. (New York.)—1. The Ruins of Central America. Part I. By Désiré Charnay. 2. The Perpetuity of Chinese Institutions; by S. Wells Williams. 3. The Trial of Mrs. Surratt; by John W. Clampitt. 4. The Personality of God; by Prof. W. T. Harris. 5. Steamboat Disasters; by R. B. Forbes. 6. Insincerity in the Pulpit; by Rev. E. E. Hale. 7. Recent Works on the Brain and Nerves; by Dr. George M. Beard.

Princeton Review, September, 1880. (New York.)—1. Physical Habits as Related to the Will; by Prof. Henry Calderwood, LL.D. 2. Late American Statesmanship; by Francis Wharton, LL.D. 3. Popular Education as a Safeguard for Popular Suffrage; by President Robert L. Dabney, D.D., LL.D. 4. Poetic Style; by Prof. John Shairp, D.C.L. 5. Organization of Labor; by Simon Newcomb, LL.D. 6. Symbolic Logic; Prof. John Venn. Herbert Spencer's Theory of Sociology: A Critical Essay; by President Porter, D.D., LL.D.

Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, October, 1880. 1. Of the Authority of General Councils. 2. Foreign Missions—Progress, Characteristics, Needs. 3. Southern Methodism and Colored Missions. 4. Studies in Shakspeare. 5. Evolution. 6. Christian Ethics *versus* Agnosticism. 7. Bishop Marvin. 8. Sunday-school Centenary Celebration.

American Catholic Quarterly Review, October, 1879. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Character of Sanctity in the Catholic Church; by Rev. Aug. J. Thebaud, S.J. 2. Physiology and Modern Materialism; by C. M. O'Leary, M.D., Ph.D. 3. Publications of the Intellectual World as regards Religion; by A. de G. 4. Notes on Spain. Part II; by St. George Mivart, F.R.S., F.Z.S., Sec'y L.S. 5. The Co-

flict of Christianity with Heathenism; by Right Rev. John J. Keane, D.D. 6. A Pioneer of the West—Rev. Charles Nerinckx; by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. 7. Aubrey de Vere's Poems; by M. F. S. 8. The Recent Ministerial Change in England; by J. D. S. 9. Suicide, Considered in its Moral Bearings; by James A. Cain. 10. Some of the Uses of the Microscope in Science; by D. J. MacGoldrick, S.S.

In a justly severe notice of Dr. Lindsay's absurd book entitled, "Mind in the Lower Animals," the "Catholic Quarterly" furnishes some valuable contributions to our knowledge of the true character and susceptibility to education of the Australians. Dr. Winchell rates them as lowest in grade and first in time of the human race. It is very important to know then how low the lowest is:

Catholic missionaries are even now engaged in converting and civilizing the "black fellows of Western Australia" with marked success, and these people, so long looked upon as the extreme of hopeless degradation, show an astonishing intelligence, aptness, and industry. A perusal of the simple account of the mission of New Norcia, near Perth, in Western Australia, which was published in the "Messenger of the Sacred Heart" during the whole of the year 1879, must be sufficient, in any candid mind, to justify to the utmost that confidence of the "worthy people," at whom Dr. Lindsay sneers, in a "potentiality" for culture and civilization existing even in the lowest savages. It gives a direct contradiction of *facts*, be it remembered, to every one of the reckless assertions we have quoted above. For instance, with regard to their intelligence and capacity for improvement, Mgr. Salvado, Bishop and Superior of the mission, writes: "One day, while I was teaching some little natives to read, one of them learned in ten minutes forty letters of the alphabet, large and small. I believe that few scholars of the same age in Europe would do the same. Another mastered in a few weeks the four rules of arithmetic. A third, seeing a captain of the navy taking the meridian with a sextant, watched him closely, and then, taking up the instrument, repeated the operation with perfect exactness." Nor are these isolated cases. "Mr. Thomas, the present official in charge of the aborigines in the district of Victoria, (South Australia,) who has carefully studied the subject, says that the children easily learn to read and write, that they readily commit to memory some lines of poetry or short songs, that they are very fond of oral lessons in geography, and perfectly understand the use of maps. A young native took, two years in succession, the prize for geography in the normal school at Sydney." A still more decisive instance is the following: "A young Australian woman, who with her father and mother had ranged the woods in the most degraded state of barbarism, was a few years ago received at the mission. She was instructed, baptized, and, because she showed more than ordinary talent, educated with special care, and

finally advantageously married. She now superintends the post-office and telegraph station of our department. The government of the English colony gives her, besides lodgings, seven hundred and fifty francs a year. All the Protestant journals in Australia have recorded the appointment, and passed the highest encomiums on the mission where Ellen Cuper—that is the name of the young woman—received her education." The above account is confirmed by an official dispatch from the governor of West Australia to the Earl of Carnarvon, Minister of the Colonies:

"No. 9. WEST AUSTRALIA, GOVERNOR'S HOUSE, PERTH, *January* 20, 1876.

"MY LORD: It will probably interest you to know that the present directress of the post-office and telegraph station is a native woman, who a few years ago was brought to the Roman Bishop Salvado. She performs the duty to the complete satisfaction of the postmaster-general. We have, moreover, a more recent example of the happy influence exercised on the natives of West Australia by the bishop. . . . A few weeks before my arrival Ellen Cuper, the postmistress mentioned above, was obliged on account of ill-health to absent herself for a short time from New Norcia, and I began to look about for some one to supply her place. The bishop at once informed the postmaster-general that he had at his house a young native girl, named Sarah Cann, quite intelligent, and able after a few lessons to take care of the telegraph station. I willingly agreed to give her a trial. During my visit to the mission I found her at the office. She was already quite at home in her new position. On my return to Perth I sent her my congratulations by telegraph, and she at once returned thanks in the most courteous terms. . . . I have the honor to subscribe myself, your lordship's very devoted servant,

WILLIAM ROBINSON, Esq., *Governor of Perth.*

Even in the freedom of their native forests the Australian blacks are by no means the senseless beings, lower than the brutes, nor even the children, that Dr. Lindsay would fain have us believe them. The testimony of Sir Thomas Mitchell on this point leaves no doubt on the question: "The frequent intercourse I had with the inhabitants enables me to speak with full knowledge. I must say that the individuals we come across in the cities are unfair specimens of the race. Those we meet in the forests and immense solitudes of the interior are handsome in appearance and lead a free and happy life. The first one I saw was tall and well-proportioned. His grave demeanor and penetrating look inspired respect. Two white-bearded old men were seated near him before a fire. One of them was most dignified, almost diplomatic, in bearing. He was so observant of decorum that when one of the children spoke a word while I was asking for directions, he admonished him with a slight tap of his long lance. . . . The man who consented to be our guide was smaller and less robust than the others, but he was full of resolution and courage, while his acuteness and rare judgment made him so useful that I always kept him by my side. . . . He spoke little, and always in maxims, which made his sayings easily remembered. This Australian rendered us great services. . . . I should add that his countrymen are not at all so void of intelligence as is generally given out. To me, who saw them in their natural condition, they seemed *at least equal, in this respect, to the peasants of England.*

They are even in advance of these in a certain politeness and reserve of manner and language that makes a very favorable impression."—*Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia, by Thomas Mitchell, Esq., quoted in the Messenger.*

With regard to their asserted ignorance of the very idea of a God, we think the following passage from the published narrative so important, and the remarks made thereon so judicious, as to deserve quotation in full, despite its length: "'It is exceedingly difficult,' says Bishop Salvado, 'to ascertain with accuracy the religious notions of the Australian savage.' And yet we hear certain tourists speak of them as matters well known to all. These travelers, without knowing any thing whatever of the language of the natives, spend a few days, nay, perhaps only a few hours, among them, and then come home and tell us that they are perfectly conversant with the manners, customs, and religious ideas of savages who, either through a spirit of mischief or reserve, have always been most reticent with strangers on these points. I am well aware how these truthful travelers pursue their quest for unpublished notes upon the Australian race. We may imagine one waiting for his prey. Along comes a poor native. Our knowledge-seeker pounces upon him. 'Have you a soul?' he asks. The child of the woods is disgusted and shakes his head, as if to say, 'I don't understand your jargon.' Our friend, the tourist, is delighted. He has made a discovery, and down goes the following note in his memorandum book: 'The Australians do not believe they have souls.' You see the thing from beginning to end is simply a mystification. As soon as he returns home his notes, with interesting illustrations, are given to the public, and, sad to say, by such truthful writers as our friend are the majority taught. Bishop Salvado, moreover, adds that the Australians, who are easily inclined to joke, often amuse themselves at the expense of the innocent traveler. One of them being asked the Australian word for water, replied *cona*, which in their language meant *excrement*. At another time they gave the generic name of the subject instead of its own specific one." Dr. Lindsay, by the way, asserts that "the language of the Australian blacks contains no word 'to express a general idea' or abstraction. It has no word, for instance, for the notion 'tree.'"

"But from Bishop Salvado they concealed nothing. . . . They believe in a being all powerful, who created heaven and earth, whom they call *Motogon*. This Motogon is a man of very great strength and wisdom, a native of the country, and has the same dusky complexion as they have. When creating heaven and earth, and the waters, and plants, and trees, and kangaroos, he breathed and said, 'Heaven and earth, and waters, and plants, and trees, and kangaroos, come forth;' and they came forth and were created. It is interesting to notice the close similarity between the formula of creation, this breathing, and the words of Holy Scripture, 'Let there be light, and there was light,' as the book of Genesis says in describing the creation. The Australians

also believe in an evil spirit, whom they call *Cienga*. It is he who excites the fury of tempests; he causes the destructive equinoctial rains; he whitens their children with leprosy and kills them. Thus the savages believe in two principles, the one good the other bad. But, strange as it may appear, Cienga is as much worshiped as Motogon. 'I have seen them,' writes the missionary, 'in times of dreadful storms curse Cienga as the author of them, then run and put themselves under the shelter of their great eucalyptus trees; but when, despite their cloaks of kangaroo skin, they get drenched by the deluging rain, they become furious and stamp the ground with rage, forgetful of Motogon and Cienga.'"

We have said enough to show the gross inaccuracy of the idea of the Australians which is given by "Mind in the Lower Animals." The same, did time and space allow, could probably be done with regard to many other races of whom he gives a no more favorable character. We cannot, however, leave this interesting subject without quoting the following passage from the latest works of an eminent French anthropologist, M. de Quatrefages, relating to the community of wives, asserted by our author of the Australians: "We ought, perhaps, to refer to the idea of property, the manner in which adultery is regarded by some peoples. . . . Nevertheless, even among the most savage tribes, a more elevated feeling, and one which is connected with moral or social ideas, as we ourselves understand them, may be proved often in the clearest manner. The gravity of the punishment incurred by the culprit scarcely permits a doubt that it is so. The Australian, uncorrupted by the vicinity of the white and brandy, never forgives one who has destroyed the purity of his wife, and kills him on the first occasion."—Pp. 561–563.

The reader should particularly note the line where an Englishman places the Australian on a level with English peasants.

On all this we query: Is Dr. Winchell after all right in placing the Australians at the bottom of the human race, and so at its historical beginning? May not the Samoieds of the Arctic be really as low or lower, and therefore the true originals of humanity? If both lie at the bottom, why may there not be two original races? May not man then be both a tropical and "an arctic animal?" Or if the Samoied is to be held a degenerate variety, why not the Australian? Why not both a degeneration from an Edenic center?

The true conclusion seems to be that the human race is *one*; and that, surveyed as a whole, it rounds in upon itself exclusively, girt round with a chasm separating it from all other living races. The highest can pass to the lowest, the lowest to the

highest, in the due conditions. Says Mivart: "Sir John Lubbock quotes with approval from Mr. Sproat the opinion that the difference between the savage and the cultivated mind is merely between the more or less aroused condition of the one and the same mind. The quotation is made in reference to the Ahts of North-western America: 'The native mind, to an educated man, seems generally to be asleep; and, if you suddenly ask a novel question, you have to repeat it while the mind of the savage is awaking, and to speak with emphasis until he has quite got your meaning.'" And Darwin says: "The Fuegians rank among the lowest barbarians; but I was continually struck with surprise how closely the three natives on board his majesty's ship 'Beagle' who had lived some years in England and could talk a little English, resembled us in disposition and in most of our mental qualities." And again: "The American aborigines, negroes, and Europeans differ as much from each other in mind as any three races that can be named; yet I was incessantly struck, while living with the Fuegians on board the 'Beagle,' with the many little traits of character, showing how similar their minds were to ours; and so it was with a full-blooded negro with whom I happened once to be intimate."

The Catholic World for June has an admirable article on The Reformed Episcopal Church, containing a very clear view of its origin, history, and prospects, written with candor from the Roman stand-point, and for that reason exhibiting the various phases of the subject. We take the liberty of presenting most of the article before our readers:

In the autumn of the year 1873 a gathering of Evangelical Christians of all lands and all denominations was held in the city of New York, under the auspices of the Evangelical Alliance. During the sitting of this conference the present Dean of Canterbury (Dr. R. Payne Smith) and Bishop Cummins, an assistant bishop of the Diocese of Kentucky, partook of the Lord's Supper in a Presbyterian meeting-house—an act which gave great offense to many English and American Episcopalians of the High-Church and ritualistic schools of thought. The authorities of the new sect inform us that the tempest raised proved to Bishop Cummins that all hope of true catholicity in the Protestant Episcopal Church of America was at an end, so he thought it necessary to resign his office. In his letter of resignation, dated November 10, 1873, Bishop Cummins gave three reasons for his

withdrawal: 1st, the progress of ritualism, which he was powerless to stop; 2d, the conviction that the root of the evil was in the prayer book; 3d, the anti-Christian outcry against the united communion. He concluded his letter in the following words: "I therefore leave the Church in which I have labored in the sacred ministry for twenty-eight years, and transfer my work and office to another sphere of labor. I have an earnest hope and confidence that a basis for the union of all Evangelical Christendom can be found in a communion which shall retain or restore a primitive episcopacy and a pure scriptural liturgy."

Immediately after his secession he proceeded to organize the new communion which he had called into existence; a bishop was consecrated in the person of Dr. Cheney, and a new prayer book was adopted, from which all passages supposed to have a Puseyite tendency were eliminated, something after the mode of that which Lord Ebury and the Prayer Book Revision Society have endeavored to introduce into England. Meanwhile the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, from which he had seceded, held a meeting and agreed that he should be formally deposed. By their canon law, however, they discovered they could do nothing in the matter for six months. The Reformed Episcopal Church was, therefore, well started before the bishops of the other Church had time to degrade their seceding brother—a fact which gave great force to the movement.

It remains to be seen whether it is likely to continue to increase, but there can be no doubt that it has hitherto made great progress. We find from the official report (1879) that it extends from British Columbia and the remote Bermudas to England, that it has five bishops, nearly a hundred clergy, and numbers its communicants by thousands, and that it already possesses a university nobly endowed. It is stated that in England within the last three months the missionary chaplain has inaugurated four Churches, and that its clergy are at work in nine dioceses.

A schism already appears to have broken out in its ranks, for in some announcements we are told that Bishop Sugden is the presiding bishop in England, and in others that Bishop Gregg is the primate. Various recriminating letters have also passed between the contending parties, who apparently are opposed to one another more on the question of jurisdiction than that of doctrine. Attention was drawn to the whole movement in the year 1878 by the charges of two Anglican bishops, (Chichester and St. Albans,) who in pompous language declared that intruders, under the guise of Anglican bishops and clergy, had appeared in their dioceses and performed services that could scarcely be distinguished from those of the Established Church of the country. The appointment and consecration of a bishop in the person of Dr. Toke, who had formally seceded from the Anglican communion after the Bennet judgment, gave rise to much criticism, especially from the fact that his consecrator, Bishop Gregg, had been formerly vicar of a well-known Church

near Birmingham and a distinguished member of the Evangelical party. This proceeding drew down strong denunciations from the Bishop of St. Albans, who solemnly warned the laity of his diocese of the snare that was laid for them. Bishop Toke had been, till within a few months of his consecration, rector of Knossington, a village near Oakham, in the Midland District, and was a member of the committee for the Old Testament revision. Both the Bishops of Chichester and St. Albans, in attacking this new sect, assumed the Catholic argument—*i. e.*, they entered a protest against any one intruding into the diocese of a lawful bishop as *ipso facto* committing an act of schism, and in high-flown language warned the people against the want of jurisdiction on the part of the new sect. The Bishop of St. Albans went further, for he assumed the complete invalidity of Dr. Gregg's orders, and denied that he had any right to officiate at all. The correspondence is amusing. Dr. Gregg writes thus:

"My Lord: In your charge delivered on Tuesday you not only questioned the validity of my consecration as derived from a deposed bishop of the American Episcopal Church, but you failed to state the real reason for the formation of the Reformed Episcopal Church in this country—*viz.*, the extreme sacerdotalism which almost every-where prevails and will ruin the Church of England. The bishop through whom the historical succession reached me had his consecration directly through the Anglican communion, and had not been deposed when the succession was transmitted through him to the three bishops by whom I was validly and canonically consecrated. . . . That there is a real cause for the existence of the Reformed Episcopal Church in this country is witnessed by the fact that in the diocese of St. Albans alone we have hundreds, if not thousands, of active sympathizers, and those not entirely confined to the laity. The cries which reach me from oppressed churchmen in many places for an evangelical ministry are indeed distressing, and convince me, much as we all love the dear old Church of England, that when she ceases to be Protestant she must cease to exist. I am, my Lord, etc.;

"Husband Gregg, D.D., M.D., *Bishop.*"

In reply the Bishop of St. Albans wrote as follows:

"Rev. Sir: You assert that the bishop through whom the historical succession reached you had his consecration directly through the Anglican communion, and had not been deposed when the succession was transmitted. I presume that the bishop to whom you refer was Dr. Cummins. My statement was that this bishop, though not yet formally deposed, lay under prohibition from performing any episcopal act, which prohibition was publicly notified December 1, 1873, just a fortnight before he proceeded to consecrate that bishop through whom, as you say, you derived the historical succession. I have authority to state

that none of the American bishops have ever recognized as valid the act of pretended consecration performed by Dr. Cummins, or any act growing out of it. I am, etc.,

"T. L., St. Albans."

It is curious that the Bishop of St Albans should fail to see that according to his line of argument the Reformation of the sixteenth century was wrong. If it is wrong now (assuming, of course, that the present Protestant prelates were real bishops) for Dr. Gregg to start a new Church in England because he considers that the existing one has fallen into grievous error, it must have been equally wrong for Henry VIII. or Dr. Cranmer to have done so; and yet the Bishops of Chichester and St Albans cannot justify their position without admitting that their ancestors attacked the existing Church of their day. Again, if it is wrong for Bishop Gregg to intrude into their dioceses, on what grounds do they justify the conduct of the body to which they belong in France, Germany, Italy, and over the Continent of Europe? If they declare that the invalidity of Bishop Gregg's orders is sufficient to prevent their regarding him as a bishop, on what grounds can they object to Catholics for using a similar line of argument against themselves? In the debate on this subject by the bishops assembled in convocation, as reported in the *Guardian* of May 5, 1878, one of that body informed his brethren that Rome invariably ignored all Churches but herself, and that, though Anglicans might object to her line of conduct in partitioning England into dioceses and ignoring the Establishment, she only acted according to precedent, but that such was not the case with any other episcopal communion. Some of the bishops not only objected to the action of the Reformed Episcopal communion, but even ignored the validity of the orders of its clergy. Others, like the Bishop of Winchester, admitted that there was episcopal ordination. The majority, while they repudiated the new sect, were of opinion that the excesses of the Ritualistic party had brought it into life, and that as long as Ritualism prevailed, so long would the Reformed Episcopal Church continue to develop and increase.

It is an acknowledged fact that a great change has, within the last forty or fifty years, come over the Established Church in England, and that extreme forms of ritualism have been practiced by a large body of clergy which are offensive to many. It is, therefore, not surprising that a Church professing to be a "Reformed Church of England" should by such persons have been deemed necessary. Low-Churchmen do not realize the guilt of schism as High-Churchmen do, nor do they hold the same notions as regards the apostolical succession. They prefer bishops to presbyters, as being more respectable and more convenient, but attach small importance as to the manner by which the bishops originally obtained their orders of jurisdiction. It is probable, therefore, that if Ritualism should continue to increase there will be a large accession to the new sect from the ranks of

the Evangelicals. It is curious to observe the importance that is attached to the question of the validity of orders by Bishop Gregg. He is careful to point out that his consecration was lawfully and canonically derived from the same source as the existing prelates of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, and that he is, therefore, a valid bishop, even in the eyes of the High-Church party.

"Our Church Record," the official organ of this sect, published monthly, thus writes in the October number for 1879: "Our Church has already ruffled the Anglican episcopal bench, it has disturbed the drowsiness of Convocation; it has fluttered the Church papers, and by God's blessing it will yet before long awaken echoes in the representative chamber at Westminster." . . . "Our Church is not intended to be either a proselytizing trap nor a cave of Adullam." . . . "The final result of the solemn meeting of Anglican prelates held in 1878, at Lambeth, with reference to the Reformed Episcopal Church, is that their lordships, having considered the subject of sufficient importance, thought it necessary to obtain special legal counsel in the matter. Their lordships were solemnly advised as to the need of grave caution, as otherwise they might become involved in serious ecclesiastical and legal difficulties, inasmuch as the orders of Bishop Gregg and Bishop Toke are most unquestionably as valid as those of their lordships. The legal advisers even went so far as to state to the Archbishop of Canterbury: '*The orders conferred by Bishops Gregg and Toke are as undoubtedly valid as any conferred by your grace.*' The result is of the utmost ecclesiastical importance, and fully accounts for the grave and fraternal silence recently so strictly observed by our bishops' episcopal brethren in the Establishment, and which has proved so enigmatical to the public in general, and the Church public in particular."

The heads of this sect declare that they have separated from the Church of England for exactly the same reasons that the Church of England separated from the Church of Rome—viz., the growth and rapid spread of Romish errors and practices. What the Church of England did at the Reformation, that, they say, the Reformed Episcopal Church has now done. Article XII of its *Constitution* states that, except where otherwise canonically specified, or where contrary to Evangelical and Protestant principles, this Reformed Church conforms to the laws and customs of the Church of England, and is thus not a new but an old Church. It has undoubtedly found a lodgment both in England and America, and is fast gaining adherents. It adheres to episcopacy but not prelacy, (whatever this may mean;) it accepts the Anglican Prayer Book, minus all passages that it considers sacerdotal; it repudiates any doctrine approaching to a belief in the Real Presence, and is entirely opposed to confession, priestly authority, and regeneration in baptism. It asserts that the Anglican Church has lapsed into something closely allied to popery,

and that Evangelicals have no remedy but a series of expensive and tedious lawsuits, which seldom produce results that are considered satisfactory. It professes not to desire to depart from the old historic line, and rejoices that its bishops and clergy can trace their descent from the see of Canterbury: but cherishes a fraternal spirit to men of other denominations, and permits its clergy to exchange pulpits with ministers of other persuasions. It professes to hold itself aloof from Anglicanism solely on the grounds of ritualism, and that, were the sacerdotalists expelled from the ranks, its members would gladly return to the Church of England: but that on the contrary, should the sacerdotalists gain the day, it hopes to be a house of refuge and a rallying-point for the promotion of a Church of England truly and entirely evangelical, which shall go forth "fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible to the systems which oppose God's word as an army with banners." It seem certain that so long as a large body of the Anglican clergy persist in imitating the ceremonies of the Mass, whether of Roman or Sarum rite, hear confessions, and adorn their churches to such an extent that it is hard for an outsider to know whether it is a Catholic place of worship or not, so long will the members of this new sect have an argument to justify their conduct and the sympathy of a large number of Protestants. Bishop Gregg, in a charge delivered July, 1, 1879, uses the following remarkable language: "Why do we as a Church exist? The need for our existence arises from the spread of the doctrines and practices of Rome in the Established Church of this land. Under various terms—Catholic revival, etc.—we find a wide-spread effort to assimilate the doctrines and services of the Church of England to those of Rome. . . . Church restoration has come to be regarded in many cases as a restoration of Romanism. . . . Our mission is to complete the work of the Reformation. . . . We are one with the Church of England in all points in which the Church of England is one with the word of God. . . . We are tired of modern superstitions and mediæval absurdities. . . . Our mission is to give back to England, to her dominions and dependencies and colonies, the Church of England as she used to be. . . . We have no priests save the Lord Jesus Christ and all his spiritual people, no altar save Calvary, no atoning sacrifice save the Lamb of God, no real pleasure save that of Christ in the heart. . . . We love the old paths, and say that the old wine is better than the new."

The Anglican prelates who resent the intrusion of the Reformed bishops in England fail to see that, according to their own argument, they should discourage all attempts at proselytism on the Continent, and that it is grossly inconsistent for them to patronize elsewhere what they repudiate in Great Britain. With marvelous inconsistency they attack a man like Bishop Gregg for subverting apostolic order and decency in England, while they encourage M. Loyson and Bishop Reinkens for doing precisely the same thing in France and Germany.

In "Tait's Magazine." for January, 1851, written at the time of the so-called Papal Aggression, the following passage occurs, which, with reference to this new Reformed Episcopal Church, seems almost prophetic: "The Queen's prerogative, we had always simply imagined, was to appoint archbishops and bishops of the Established Church. Is it now meant that she has the prerogative of appointing the prelates of other Churches too? No. If the *Times* and its multitudinous followers are to be taken as exponents, it means *there shall be no other bishops in England.* Now look where this leads. Quoth the *Times*, 'England has bishops and dioceses of her own, and no others can be appointed without insult to the crown and kingdom, and just liabilities on the part of the offenders.' We have here a hint of the circumstances which render it a possibility to foist such fallacies on the public, as well as the consequences to which they point. To change the names, Scotland had synods and presbyteries of its own—those of the Established Church as appointed by legislative authority—yet the Scottish dissenters, happening to be Presbyterians, have over and over again made new synods and presbyteries without ever thinking that they had insulted the crown and kingdom and come under just liabilities. It has so happened, however, that none of the dissenters from the Church of England are Episcopalians, otherwise there would have been other bishops and dioceses long ago, and the fallacy in present use would never have been born, or at least could never have lived. But will there never be any dissenters in England save the Roman Catholics requiring bishops for their Church government? Is there not an exceeding likelihood that ere long we shall see such *coming out of the English Church, carrying their Episcopal principles with them?* Lately it seemed as if this exodus were to be composed of the Evangelical party, and, if we are not mistaken, a sort of beginning or nucleus already existed in the person of Mr. Shore, of Exeter; and now it is more likely to be the Puseyites, beginning with Mr. Bennet. But nobody knows whose may be the first turn or whose the next; but any man may know who chooses to consider, that if this doctrine of no bishops nor dioceses save those of the Established Church being permissible is to be held good, Episcopal dissenters are things prohibited."

What is here hinted at is that which has now actually come to pass; there has been a secession from the ranks of the Low-Church side, inaugurated by Bishop Cummins and styled the "Reformed Episcopal Church," and a secession from the High-Church ranks styled "Corporate Reunion," which at present possesses bishops, (whose names are, however, withheld from the public on the plea of expediency.)—Pp. 354–358, and 359–361.

THE UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, July, 1880. (Boston.) 1. Natural Law; by [illegible] O. Cone, D.D. 2. Universalism the only Solution of the Problems of [illegible] and Human Destiny; by Rev. George Hill. 3. A Study of American [illegible] ology—Part I. Interesting Remains and their Location; by Rev. J. [illegible] 4. Religion and Morals; by Rev. Sumner Ellis. 5. The Chaldæo-Assyrian [illegible] trine of the Future Life, according to the Cuneiform Inscriptions; by Rev. [illegible] D. Miller. 6. Universalism and Punishment; by Rev. W. C. Stiles. [illegible] Peter's Privileges; or, The Keys of the Kingdom; by Jane L. Patterson.

We are indebted to the "Universalist Quarterly" for a definition of the "New Orthodoxy" in the "Independent," which had escaped our notice in the paper itself, regularly as we are accustomed to peruse its columns. The definition states the basis which the whole tone and course of that paper indicate to underlie its own positions.

If the designation of "New Orthodoxy" is to be thrust upon believers who break away from the severe assertions and negations of old Calvinism, we should say that it belongs first to the Arminianism of the Wesleyan Churches. Their faith is "orthodoxy," and "new;" newer—and older—than Calvinism. If the term be applied to a line of evangelical thought within the Churches hitherto called Calvinistic, we should say that it is characterized:

1. By a very wide tolerance of belief, so it be reverent. It utterly denies the dogma of the Westminster divines—that none can be saved, "be they never so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of Nature," unless they profess the Christian religion. It holds that God's mercy may include Mohammedans, Pagans, even skeptics and Atheists in Christian lands, if they have honestly tried to get at the truth, even though they have failed to find it.

2. By a larger recognition of a human, fallible element in the holy Scriptures. It thinks the application of reason and criticism to the Bible just as legimate as when the canon was made.

3. While heartily accepting revelation and supernaturalism, by regarding as doubtful and unimportant many dogmas and philosophies of old orthodoxies.

4. By recognizing a basis of true faith underlying many religions, and seeing in Christianity the greatest and mightiest of the influences by which men are made the friends of God.

5. By accepting with great simplicity the Edwardean doctrine that true virtue consists in "love to Being in General."—P. 375.

As we understand its articles thus stated we are decidedly heretic to this "New Orthodoxy." We acknowledge the "Independent's" candor in giving a true account of the "Arminianism of the Wesleyan Churches." It virtually acknowledges that our so-called "Arminianism" is the "old," that is, the primitive doc-

That dogma is in truth neither "Arminianism" nor "Wesleyanism," but primitive *Christism* and Christ's original apostolism and Churchism. In spite of Augustine and his influence it reigned predominant in the old Churches, Greek, Roman, and Anglican, until at the Reformation the disastrous genius of John Calvin brought Predestination into Protestantism, and actually that much established a spurious "orthodoxy" in its Churches. Arminius rescued the old doctrine, and the Wesleyan reformation completed its rescue and inspired it with its primitive life. Wesley, therefore, did not launch out in an undefined field of speculation; but, as a *restoration*, he firmly stayed within the limits of "Scripture and the primitive Church." Herein he differed from modern Germany and with this "New Orthodoxy." That "New Orthodoxy" seems without a conservative stoppage. It stands upon a smooth inclined plane and smoothly tends to the bottom, or to the bottomless.

In regard to Article First we may say that we coincide in the rejection of the Westminster doctrine, believing with St. Peter, Acts x, 34, 35, that "in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of him." But to the "Independent's" very pregnant addition, "and Atheists in Christian lands," Wesleyanism is eloquently silent. She believes that *Atheism is sin*. It is the result of alienation from God, and produces alienation from God. She believes with St. Paul, in Rom. i, 19, 20, that it is a willful and responsible unbelief, "so that they are WITHOUT EXCUSE." It is an unbelief against intuitive light and knowledge as well as against external evidence. It is, therefore, a heinous and a damning sin.

Article Second lays open the sacred "canon" to a free fight; to as free discussion "as when the canon was made." Wesleyanism, thanks to her Anglican origin, has placed the once settled "canon" in her articles of faith, and holds that canon to stand among her undisputable foundations. In our Articles the complete canon is placed on the same basis with the doctrine of the Trinity. The Bible is an ORGANIC BOOK. Take it as it stands, from Genesis to Revelation, and it is a most majestic WHOLE. As to the Old Testament this has been asserted with absolute finality by the divine Giver of all revelation, Jesus Christ himself, the Son of God. Christ quoted the Old Testament as a divine authority; and his collective term for

the organic whole was LAW, (John x, 34; xii, 34,) which was a synonym for *canon*. As to the New Testament we refer our readers to the concluding parts of our synopsis quotation from the "British Quarterly," and especially to Canon Westcott's affirmation of the *wholeness* of the New Testament. We reject with promptitude the pruriencies displayed by modern neologists, whether in the columns of the "Independent," or elsewhere, for gnawing like vermin at these foundations. Especially do we reject the flippancies with which petty upstarts not only question the fundamental, but put on airs, and talk about "modern thought," and all that *lingua franca*. And when they make the acceptance of their crotchets a test of being "up to the standard of modern biblical criticism," we have no difficulty or hesitation in stringently applying the critical "rod to the fool's back."

The Third Article is not sufficiently guarded for our acceptance. Wesleyanism has been a well-defined system of doctrines, and it is by their definiteness that they have been efficient. As Dr. Fowler once well said, a religion needs a theology as a body needs a skeleton. That skeleton must be neither boneless in substance nor distorted in shape. There is great danger under the present temper of discarding the doctrines of our theology, of relapsing into a very ignorant religious sentimentalism. It is a very suspicious sign when the word "dogma" becomes a cant term of reproach. It was Theodore Parker's term of stigma for all the peculiar truths of Christianity. And one of Dr. Newhall's earliest and best articles in our "Quarterly" replied by showing that Parker's own *dogmas* were quite as *dogmatic*, and by him quite as dogmatically asserted, as any of the truths of our theology. On the whole, our young Methodist ministers who read the pages of the "Independent" would do well to read carefully, also, Dr. Hurst's "History of Rationalism," that they may fully understand the route by which utter apostasy from Christianity can be very smoothly attained through progressive liberalism.

ORIENTAL AND BIBLICAL JOURNAL. Issued Quarterly. Volume I, No. I. January, 1880. (Chicago.) Palestine Explorations; by Rev. Selah Merrill, D.D. The Semitic Races; by L. J. Dupre. Ancient Lake Dwellers. Aztec Signs for Speech. The Test of Linguistic Affinity; by Albert S. Gatschet. The Elephantine Caves. Population of Jerusalem. A Monument of Cyrus the Great. Destruction of Ancient Monuments. Ancient Settlements of the Phœnicians. Museums. Assyrian Fountain of Youth. Mandarian Language. Asiatic Origin of the Brazilians.

Copper Age in Mexico. Our Contributors. Scope of Our Journal. Neolithic Implements. Selections from Magazines—Book Reviews. Sources of Information as to the Prehistoric Condition of America; by the Editor.

April, 1880. Influence of the Aboriginal Tribes upon the Aryan Speech of India; by Prof. John Avery. The Latest Cuneiform Discovery; by Prof. A. H. Sayce, D.D., F.R.S. The Assyro-Babylonian Doctrine of Immortality; by Rev. O. D. Miller. Osirids of Ancient Egypt; by Prof. T. O. Paine. Human Sacrifices in Ancient Times; by Señor Orosco y Berra. Teutonic Mythology; by Prof. R. B. Anderson. The Antiquity of Sacred Writings in the Valley of the Euphrates; by Rev. O. D. Miller. A Cinerary Urn; by Rev. Selah Merrill, D.D. Mount Tabor; by Rev. S. D. Phelps, D.D. Editorial Notes. Miscellaneous: The Transfiguration.—The Beauty of the Dead Sea.—The Holy Land.—Recent Explorations in Greece.—Cleopatra's Needles.—A Buried Temple and Palace.—Synopsis of Articles in Magazines. Archæology and Ethnology.—How the Pyramids were Built.—Discoveries at Olympia.—The Venus of Vienne.—The Relics at Præneste.—The History of Money.—Collections of Coins in this Country.—Folk-Lore.—Mythology. Art and Architecture. Geographical Explorations. Proceedings of Societies. Index of Articles published during 1879 on Archæology, Anthropology, and Ethnology.

Mr. Peet, who has heretofore edited the "American Antiquarian," now issues also a new periodical with the above title, devoted to Eastern archæology, so that he now superintends the Orient as well as the Occident. Its price is two dollars per annum, and the large number, especially of ministers, interested in the wonderful discoveries in Oriental archæology, especially in their bearing on the sacred records, will find every number a rich treat. He has engaged the aid of a large number of scholars, including Professor Sayce, Selah Merrill, Dr. James Strong, and Rev. T. O. Paine, "the best Egyptologist in this country."

From his first number we give the following quotation, indicating that Mr. Peet does not agree with Dr. Winchell in ascribing any immense geological antiquity or profound significance to Professor Whitney's Calaveras skull:

NEOLITHIC IMPLEMENTS FOUND IN GRAVEL BEDS IN CALIFORNIA.

Professor Whitney's reports on the auriferous gravels of the Sierra Nevada, published by the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, describe numerous implements which have been discovered in the gravel. The list comprises, 1. A mortar found in pay gravel underneath the volcanic one hundred and fifty feet, locality San Andreas, Colorado County, Cal., date, 1860 and 1869. 2. A stone hatchet, triangular in shape, size four inches around, six inches long, *with a hole through it for a handle*, found seventy-five feet from the surface in gravel, and under basalt, three hundred feet from mouth of tunnel, locality Table Mountain, Tuolumne County, finder, James Carvin, date, 1858. 3. A large number of mortars, pestles, *stone dishes*, with bones of mastodon

and elephant, in auriferous gravel, ten to twenty feet below surface, locality, "Murphy," Tuolumne County, Cal. 4. Mortars, some of them weighing from twenty to forty pounds, "in gravels" forty feet deep, locality, Amodor County, date, 1852, 1857, 1858, and 1864, now in Voy's collection. 5. Stone mortars, one ten inches high, and six in diameter, found at ten feet depth, others at a depth of one hundred feet. 6. Bones of a human skeleton, found in clay thirty-eight feet below surface, finder, H. H. Boyce, M.D., 1853, Placerville. 7. Oval stones with grooves around them lengthwise, implements used as handles for bows, hollow on one side and convex on the other, five or six inches long, one inch thick, locality, El Dorado County. 8. Large stone platters, and a mortar made of granite, fifteen inches high and twelve inches in circumference, depth, ten to twenty feet; also a platter of granite eighteen inches in diameter, locality, Placer County. 9. Numerous stone relics, mortars, pestles, and grooved disks at various depths, locality, Nevada County. 10. A stone mortar standing upright with pestle in it, apparently as it was left by the owner. Other mortars from half a dozen to a dozen or two, enough to show a large population, depth, twelve feet underneath undisturbed gravel, also several mortars on the top of blue gravel, and another in blue gravel, forty feet below the surface, finder, Amos Bowman, dates, from 1853 to 1858. We have no opinion to express as to the antiquity or geological history of these relics, but our readers will notice certain points in the description which show that they are *Neolithic* and not Paleolithic, and any inference as to their being signs of a "missing link" in the tertiary age is far-fetched and unwarranted.—Pp. 23, 24.

National Quarterly Review, July, 1880. (New York.)—1. Zemlja i Volja; by Axel Gustafson. 2. The Philosophy of Final Causes; by J. M'Lean Smith. 3. The Value and Regulation of Currency; by Hon. A. J. Warner, M.C. 4. Goethe and Bettina; by Clara White. 5. The Secret History of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill; by John A. Parker. 6. The Science of Public Health; by William Dowe. 7. The Political Future of the Jews; by David Ker. 8. The Intellectual Position of the Negro; by Prof. R. T. Greener. 9. William Black's Novels; by William Baird.

Under its present editorship the National sustains an honorable rank in our higher periodical literature. In the present number we specially note Professor Greener's defense of his race against Mr. Parton. The style of the defense is itself a first-rate defense. Specially, also, we have read the able maintenance of Pantheism in the second Article by J. M'Lain Smith. Upon this article we have penciled pretty exhaustive notes, which want of room excludes, but which we may furnish in our next Quarterly.

English Reviews.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, July, 1880. (London.)—1. Justification. 2. The New Testament a Standing Monument and Verification of the Divine Mission of Jesus Christ; by the late Principal Lorimer, D.D. 3. Hymnology as a Reflection of Christian Doctrine and Life; by Rev. Andrew Carter. 4. Christ's Death: What was it? 5. Spain and Ireland: Resemblances and Contrasts; by Rev. W. Moore. 6. Buddhism; by Rev. Dunlop Moore, D.D. 7. The Body an Argument for the Soul; by Charles P. Krauth, D.D., LL.D. 8. The Exclusiveness of Christianity; by Rev. Professor S. H. Kellogg, D.D. 9. Haeckel on the Evolution of Man; by Principal Dawson.

Edinburgh Review, July, 1880. (New York.)—1. The English Precursors of Newton. 2. Mind in the Lower Animals. 3. Naval Power in the Pacific. 4. Memoirs of the Prince Consort. 5. Sabians and Christians of St. John. 6. Landlords, Tenants, and Laborers. 7. Memoirs of Madame de Rémusat. 8. Hodgkin's Invaders of Italy. 9. Bright's Edition of Pepys' Diary. 10. The Divorce of Katharine of Aragon. 11. The New Parliament in Session.

Indian Evangelical Review, July, 1880. (Calcutta.)—1. Christ, neither Eastern nor Western, but the Son of Man; by Rev. E. J. Scott. 2. The Santals; by A. Campbell. 3. The Later Hindi Translations of the Bible; by Rev. Nehemiah Goreh. 4. The Primitive Religion and the Rig-Veda; by Rev. K. S. Macdonald. 5. Hindu Widows; by Rev. James Payne. 6. The Independence of the Native Church—Our Side of the Case; by a Bengali Missionary. 7. Among the Chandals of Gopalgunge; by Rev. Mothoora Nath Bose, B.A., B.L. 8. Bible Distribution; by Rev. E. S. Summers. 9. The Provisions of the Education Dispatch of 1854: What they are, and how far carried out.

London Quarterly Review, July, 1880. (New York.)—1. The First Lord Minto. 2. Middlesex. 3. Thomas Chatterton. 4. Recent and Future Arctic Voyages. 5. Marie-Antoinette. 6. Universities and their Critics. 7. Around the World with General Grant. 8. St. Paul and Renan. 9. Whigs, Radicals, and Conservatives.

Westminster Review, July, 1880. (New York.)—1. Scotch Peerage. 2. The Place of Socrates in Greek Philosophy. 3. The Peasant-Poets of Russia. 4. Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister. 5. The Life of the Prince Consort. 6. Game Laws and Game Preserving. 7. State Papers: Foreign Series. 8. A New View of the Indian Exchange Difficulty.

London Quarterly Review, July, 1880. (London.)—1. Senior's Conversations. 2. German Preachers and Preaching of the Present Century. 3. Bishop Wilberforce. 4. St. Augustine of Canterbury. 5. A Liberal-Conservative Chinaman on Western Countries. 6. The Early Victory of Christianity. 7. Dr. Moulton on the Hebrews.

The following notice of a late book by Dr. Dawson, written in further demolition of the geologic man, shows the curious effect of the geology of America on the minds of the European theorists in palæontology. They are queerly taken aback at seeing their proud systems suddenly transformed to moonshine. It is not, as the writer almost petulantly intimates, the "American archæologists" that "dispute the vast time-claims of their European brethren," but the American facts. Especially is American catastrophism playing havoc with Sir Charles

Lyell's uniformitarianism, which the Europeans have carried to a superstition, and made the basis of a system of wild theory:

Fossil Men and their Modern Representatives. An Attempt to Illustrate the Character and Condition of the Prehistoric Men in Europe by those of American Races. By J. W. Dawson, LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., Principal of M'Gill College and University, Montreal, Author of "The Story of the Earth and Man," etc. Hodder & Stoughton. 1880.

It is three hundred and forty-five years since Jacques Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence and landed at the Indian town of Hochelaga. This he describes as "a round citie" (we quote Hakluyt's translation) "compassed about with timber, with three course of rampires, one within another, framed with pieces of timber very cunningly joyned together after their fashion." The inhabitants grew maize, pounded it with wooden pestles, and baked cakes with heated stones. They smoked fish and flesh "without any taste or savour of salt," and made wampum of shells. In fact, they were living just as the "flintfolk" were living in a prehistoric British village; and in less than a century after Cartier, when the Sieur of Maisonneuve was founding Montroial, they and their city had disappeared as wholly as have the dwellers in Maiden Castle or the other Wiltshire and Somerset fortresses. Thenceforward till 1860 Hochelaga was lost to the eyes of men. It was then unearthed, while excavations were being made in the west end of Montreal for house foundations, and the "finds" were, as Principal Dawson points out, exactly like those so common at home, and so universally attributed to ages long anterior to the dawn of history; indeed, "but for Cartier's narrative, the Montreal excavators might have supposed they were dealing with the relics of a people who perished thousands of years ago." The inference is that our chipped flints and primitive pottery and polished stone implements need not be pushed back into such remote ages. Even the so-called paleolithic flints of the Somme Valley and elsewhere, Dr. Dawson suggests, may have been in use along with the polished or neolithic implements, the former being used as hoes in the summer farming of the lower levels, and left during the winter floods in the spots where they are now found by men whose homes, and therefore their more artistic implements, were on the higher ground. He instances the flint hoes or picks similar to those of the St. Acheul gravel pits, which are found in alluvial deposits near the Ohio mounds. Most of the American archæologists, who seem to make it a point of honor to dispute the vast time-claims of their European brethren, attribute these to "the highly civilized nations of the Mississippi Valley, who possessed copper implements." So flints are found in caches, as if quantities were used at one time, and their being found by themselves, and not associated with polished implements, is no argument against their being contemporary. To think otherwise is, in our author's estimation, "an inveterate prejudice." Such tools would be kept by themselves

and never where they were not wanted, just as the stone gouges (probably used for drawing off the sugar-maple sap) are found apart, unmixed with any chipped stones. Arrows and war-axes, on the other hand, are not found stored up, if we except the so-called palæolithic and transition weapons, which Dr. Dawson believes to be half-finished instruments, roughly shaped at the quarry, and left to be finished at leisure when the flint should have got damp enough to be more workable.

On the whole, we are told, the weight of American evidence, past and present, is against any distinction between palæolithic and neolithic; and the European facts will, we are assured, if properly looked at, lead to the same conclusion.

Of course, it is a question for the geologist; but Dr. Dawson is no tyro in geology. He does not underrate the evidence about the Kent's Hole deposits, beneath which implements have been found. He simply says: "To explain these by the continued operations of merely modern causes, without taking into account floods and other cataclysmic agents, is a stretch of uniformitarianism which the deposits themselves plainly contradict. Thus our calculations as to age rather serve to bring the age of the mammoth up toward us than to throw man back in geological time."

We are thus thrown back at once into catastrophic geology; and the wrought flints, which cannot be accounted for by work having been carried on at different levels, are not relegated to an unmeasured antiquity, because buried beneath successive layers of mud and stalagmite, for the causes now at work in nature acted in earlier times with far greater intensity.

There the matter rests. Meanwhile Dr. Dawson's books (for they all deserve careful reading) ought to make us suspend our judgment and reconsider our facts, instead of taking to that scientific dogmatism which is more offensive than its theological namesake.

We see in Europe the stone age lasting on almost to yesterday —stone implements being in use till lately in Ireland and Scandinavia; nay, one form of stone implement, the flint and steel, being by no means obsolete even yet. We see in America the civilization of the stone age co-existing with the fullest modern culture. Why, then, should we demand such vast periods of time for the growing up of this modern culture, and why imagine that the old stone-age folk were one whit lower in the scale than the Red men, whose implements so closely resemble theirs? The Red men, indeed, have gone or are going, without having exercised in a great part of North America any perceptible influence on the intruding race which has displaced them. Those who are left have degenerated—Dr. Dawson has a chapter on "The Lost Arts of Savages;" the wonderful hard stone pipes are now no longer made east of the Rocky Mountains. Of the flintfolk we may believe that they were either Basques or Lapps, or else Celts; that is, cousins-german of the Teutons. In the latter case they

must have improved rapidly; and it is not impossible that the Red man might have improved had he been better handled. At any rate, there was as much difference between the Mexicans and the Hurons as between the Æduan or Belgic Gauls and the savage Attacetti.

Dr. Dawson (whose book would have been much improved by an index) has collected a great number of facts about "the physical characteristics of prehistoric men," of which we will only say that it is a little rash to argue from the capacity of one or two skulls here and there. He pronounces the CroMagnon men to have been "gigantic and magnificent," thus confirming the belief that "there were giants in those days." "Judging from their great cranial capacity, and the small number of their skeletons found, we may suppose they represent rude outlying tribes belonging to races which elsewhere had attained to greater numbers and culture. These giants were superseded by a small-statured race with shorter heads, possibly after the catastrophes which destroyed the post-Pliocene continent that stretched westward through Ireland. But whether this bigness of brain indicates, "like the mound-builders preceding the Red Indians, that man's earlier state was the best, that he had been a good and noble creature before he became a savage," we cannot pretend to say. Dr. Dawson claims that this high organization of the cave men "justifies the tradition of a golden and Edenic age, and mutely protests against the philosophy of progressive development as applied to man." We do not see how, as a geologist, he reconciles man's recent origin with his CroMagnon man having possibly visited "the great Atlantis, and the valley of the Gihon, where now is the Mediterranean, and that nameless river which flowed where now is the German Ocean." But, then, he is a catastrophic geologist, and believes that Noah's flood was the break up of this post-Pliocene world, and the bringing land and sea into their present shape. His explanation of the height above the present water level of the Somme Valley caves is ingenious: the land may have risen. It certainly has done so in Scandinavia, in Scotland, etc. "In the days of the cave men the lower valley may have been a sort of delta, with banks of gravel, to which they might resort for materials, or into which their rejected implements might be drifted." They would thus have lived when the land was slowly rising, after the great depression which let in the Irish Sea and German Ocean on what had been dry land.

His summing up, then, is that there is no ground for believing in any race more rude or less physically developed than the modern semi-civilized races. The modern savage is a degenerate creature. The most ancient man seems to have been a well developed and cultured Turanian; and this "tells in favor both of the moderate antiquity and unity of the species." Further, Dr. Dawson thinks he can find in these old men "the primitive idea of God, the instinct of immortality, and even some premonitions of a Redeemer." Into this very important subject we can

not enter; but we strongly recommend (on the *audi alteram partem* principle) the students of Dr. Tyler and Sir J. Lubbock to see what use the American geologist makes of much the same facts as those with which they deal. The similarity between the carved reindeer horns of the Dordogne cavern and the totems of Red Indian tribes is at any rate curious; while Dr. Dawson's engraving of the upright monument of a Chippewa chief closely resembles some of the "sculptured stones" of Scotland, and some of the French *roches percées*. That so-called "primitive" modes of interment lasted on in outlying places to quite modern times is proved by the discovery, in previously unopened Cornish barrows, of very late Roman coins associated with chipped flints and rude pottery.—Pp. 491–494.

British Quarterly Review, July, 1880. (London.)—1. The Two Nations and the Commonwealth. 2. Father Curci's New Translation of the Gospels. 3. Religion and Morality. 4. Evolution, Viewed in Relation to Theology. 5. Inspiration. 6. Irish Land Reforms. 7. The London Water Question. 8. The General Election and its Results.

The following quotation from the fifth article clearly illustrates the doctrine of

The New Testament an Organic Book.

Our entire canon is the product of the authoritative mind of the primitive Church, including the Gospel of John, and the Epistles of 2 Peter and Jude.

We recognize in the books of the New Testament, in the first place, the relation of the writings themselves to the special spiritual requirements of the Church of God, or of some one portion of it, at the time. The Gospels are adapted, each one, to a definite Christian consciousness, while it is nevertheless true that they stand four-square in their unity. We may believe that as the Christian writings were called forth by their adaptation to portions of the Church, so they were preserved by them. The unity which is manifested in the New Testament is the unity of the Christian Church itself. And upon what basis was it that these different portions of the Church received and preserved the sacred writings? Entirely on the basis of their apostolic authority. Justin Martyr not only recognizes generally that apostolic authority, but he connects it with their work as teachers. "Through the power of God they declared to every race of men that they were sent by Christ to teach all men the word of God." He compares this apostolic teaching to that of the prophets.* "Just as Abraham," he says, "believed the voice of God, and it was counted to him for righteousness; so we Christians, also believing the voice of God, which is both spoken again through the apostles of Christ and proclaimed to us through the prophets, have re-

* I. Apol., 39.

nounced even to death all that is in the world."* "Prophetical gifts remain with us even to this time, from which you (Jews) ought to understand that those which were formerly left with your nation are now transferred to us."†

The same view is very distinctly supported by the writings of Irenæus,‡ and by those of Tertullian in his "Exhortation concerning Chastity," (c. 4.) "It is true," says the latter, "that believers have the Spirit of God, but not all believers are apostles. For apostles have the Spirit of God properly who have him fully in the operations of prophecy and the efficacy of healing virtues and the evidence of the tongues; not partially, as others have." This was the voice of the second century. We may well believe that it was that of the first as well. "The history of the New Testament canon," says Dr. Westcott, "may be divided into three periods. The first extends to the time of Hegesippus, (A. D. 170,) and includes the era of the separate circulation and gradual collection of the apostolic writings. The second is closed by the persecution of Diocletian, (A.D. 303,) and marks the separation of the sacred writings from the remaining ecclesiastical literature. The third may be defined by the third council of Carthage, (A.D. 397,) in which a catalogue of the books of Scripture was formally ratified by conciliar authority. The first is characteristically a period of tradition, the second of speculation, the third of authority."§

Speaking of that first period, and of the gradual collection of the apostolic writings, the same devout and admirable scholar remarks in another place: "Silently and slowly, without any formal deliberations or open contests, the work of God went forward. The principles which the apostles set forth separately were combined and systematized. The societies which they founded were more fully organized according to the outlines they had drawn. The writings which they left were preserved and studied, and exercised more and more a formative authority. The Church rose and spread, not by any sudden miracle, but by the gradual assimilation of all around which could contribute to its growth, in virtue of the action of that Spirit which is its life. . . . In their origin the writings of the apostles are seen to have been casual and fragmentary. Their authors claim for themselves distinctly the gift of the Holy Spirit; but they nowhere express any design of conveying to their readers a full outline of the faith. Still less do they indicate any idea of supplementing the Old Testament by a new collection of Scriptures. *Yet it is equally evident that the New Testament does form a whole. Its different elements are united internally by the closest and most subtle harmonies. No part can be taken away without sensible injury to its unity and richness.* The words of the apostles were placed more and more frequently by the side of the words of the prophets, as the two

* "Dial. with Trypho," § 119. † Ibid., § 82.

‡ See his work "Against Heresies," book iv, c. ix, 25, 26.

§ Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," Art. Canon.

ing of Christ by that of the law. Partial collections of the Scriptures of 'the New Testament' were formed without the Church; and as the whole Christian body realized the fullness of its common life, the teaching and the books, which had been in some sense the symbol of a part only, were ratified by the whole." *

Thus we are shut up to this conclusion, that the authority attached to the sacred books was the authority of the Spirit of God as testified first in the sacred writers themselves, and next in those who received their writings and applied to them the test of their own Christian consciousness, as it was developed in the living communities of believers and embodied in the traditions and usages of the Church. In the application of this test, doubtless, it was not either a mere instinct which was appealed to, nor a mere historical tradition, nor the existence of actual documents critically examined. The voice of the Christian community was first the voice of the few and then the voice of the many; first the echo of the living voices of the apostles themselves, and then the memory of those voices, and then the residuum of testimony in the communities, books, and current speech of Christians. And the result is a volume of inspired writings which has preserved to us not alone the testimony of Christ and his twelve representative disciples, but the indirect evidence of the embodiment of that teaching in a Christian society without which it would have been impossible that those writings should have been handed down. The Spirit of God in the book and the Spirit of God in the life of man, in the historic world, confirm and authorize one another—"The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us."—Pp. 120–122.

These principles lie at the basis of all solid Biblical Introduction. On this subject we recommend the perusal of Bernard's "Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament."

German Reviews.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE. (Journal for Church History.) Edited by Brieger. Fourth Volume. Second Number.—*Essays:* 1. BRIEGER, The Religious Policy of Constantine the Great. 2. REUTER, Studies on Augustine, (Second Article.) *Critical Reviews:* BUDDENSIEG, Recent English Literature on the History of the Reformation. *Analecta:* 1. NEUMANN, A Tubingen Manuscript of Pseudo-Justin containing the Epistle to Diognetus. 2. WALTZ, Epistolae Reformatorum. 3. KAWERAU, Epistles and Documents Relating to the History of the Antinomian Controversy, (First Article.) 4. WALTZ, Dicta Melanethonis. 5. CRECELIUS, Miscellaneous.

The article by Dr. Brieger inquires into the personal relation and motives of Constantine the Great in regard to Christianity.

* "Bible in the Church," chap. v.

He assumes that Eusebius' story of the cross vision, in 311, is no longer believed by any writer of note. The personal life of Constantine up to his death proves that he was not a Christian by personal conviction, but that the favors he bestowed upon Christianity were a part of his policy. The first proof of his intention to favor the Christians was given in 312, when he ordered the shields of his soldiers to be marked with the monogram of the name of Christ, a combination of the letters XP. The celebrated labarum which was subsequently carried in front of his armies may possibly have been made at that time, but this is not probable. The Christian symbol when adopted in 312 was, however, by no means used exclusively, but it was placed side by side with the ancient pagan symbols. In 313 the famous edict of toleration was issued in favor of the Christians, but this edict involved no infringement upon the rights of the State religion. The entire pagan worship was continued, inclusive of astrology; occasionally the continuance was guaranteed by laws. Even the coins of the emperor continue to wear a heathen impress; quite frequently they are devoted to the sun-god, the favorite of the enlightened pagan monotheists; in many other cases, to Jupiter or to Mars. The emperor shows no intention, as some writers have believed, to introduce a new universal religion; but, in his opinion, the two religions, the old and the new, shall co-exist. In order to promote their mutual toleration he endeavored to find a neutral ground. Therefore he speaks in his letters and edicts frequently of a supreme Deity, by which the Christians were expected to think of God the Father, the pagans of Jupiter or of the sun-god. The introduction of the celebration of Sunday had the same aim, and in order that Christian and pagan soldiers might celebrate it conjointly he prescribed a general monotheistic prayer to be used by both. When Constantine became the sole ruler of the empire, the favors bestowed by him upon the Christians became more marked, but still the continuance of pagan worship was not interfered with. It is true, paganism was designated as an impious opinion, as a power of darkness. But the "erring" pagans were authorized to keep their false temples. In 326 he issued a prohibition to repair decaying temples, but he remained Pontifex Maximus of the pagan State religion; he provided for the pagan priests,

and even toward the close of his reign confirmed them in the possession of their income and rights, and in the exemption from public services. An inscription which belongs to the last years of his life, and the genuineness of which is beyond any doubt, proves that a little town of Italy was authorized to erect a temple to his family, the gens Flavia, and to institute scenic plays and gladiatorial combats. Even in his new residence, Constantinople. several new temples arose which rivaled many churches in splendor. In 330 Constantinople was placed under the protection of a special goddess, and all public squares were furnished with statues of gods. During the entire reign of Constantine we find pagans in the highest offices in the army, in the government, at court, and although there were many court bishops who surrounded the emperor, we also find a new Platonic sophist in the confidence of the emperor. .The merit of having fully proved that Constantine did not make Christianity the State religion, but established a "partitetic" state, is ascribed by Dr. Brieger to a work by H. Richter on the Great Roman Empire under the Emperors Gratian, Valentinian II., and Maximus, (Berlin, 1865.) No compulsion was used to spread Christianity, but the emperor did not disdain the liberal use of external favors to strengthen the Christian party, and is even reported by his Christian biographer to have made an address to the bishops assembled at Nice, advising them to increase the number of Christians by prudent, though dishonest, measures. After giving this historical summary of those events in the life of Constantine which indicate his personal relation to Christianity, Dr. Brieger inquires more minutely into the aim which the policy of the emperor had in view. He endeavors to show that Constantine, as a statesman, foresaw that paganism was doomed to fall, and Christianity to obtain ere long the control of the Roman Empire. At that time the Christians were only a small minority in the empire. H. Richter, whose work has already been referred to, estimates that there were from five to six millions of Christians against about forty-five millions of pagans. Other estimates place the number of Christians from one tenth to one twentieth of the total population of the empire. But, though a minority, they were steadily growing, and the inevitable doom of the pagan State religion was foreseen by many. At that time the Church already had a

strong, hierarchical organization. If the emperor without any interference allowed the Church to replace the pagan State religion, it was likely that the Church would become the ruler of the State. To prevent this, Constantine conceived the idea of making the already powerful organization of the Church serviceable to the State and the government. The part he took in the Council of Nice illustrates his position. The emperor called the Council; he appointed the president or presided himself; he indicated to the bishops what resolutions he wanted them to pass; the bishops who refused to concur in these resolutions were deposed or exiled. At that time the emperor favored the orthodox party in opposition to the Arians; a few years later he went over to the side of the Arians, and so many bishops had already learned to submit to the demands of the emperor, that he could secure the deposition by a synod of Athanasius. He treated the Church as a part of the State administration; thus he laid the foundation of the idea of a Christian State Church, and of the so-called Christian State. These ideas still prevail in many European States, among others in Germany. Being a member and a minister of one of these State Churches, Dr. Brieger would fain believe that the system inaugurated by Constantine has redounded, on the one hand, as he admits, to many serious injuries; yet, on the other hand, also to immeasurable blessings to mankind, as the Christian Church on this new basis has become the great educator of the nations. Appended to this article is an essay on the history and the different forms of the monogram of the name of Christ.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1880. Third Number.—*Essays:* 1. GRIMM, The Council of the Apostles. 2. WEIZEL, An Attempt to Explain Galatians ii. 14-21. 3. FISCHER, Rothe's Fundamental Views of Ethics and Religion. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. RÜTH, Ill. The Preparation for Preaching. 2. KLOSTERMANN, The Date of the Martyrdom of Isaiah in the Roman Calendar. *Reviews:* 1. GOEBEL, The Parables of Jesus Reviewed by Achelis. 2. ZOECKEL, History of the Relations between Theology and Natural Science.

1880. Fourth Number. *Essays:* 1. WADSTEIN, The Influence of Stoicism upon the Earliest Formation of Christian Doctrines. 2. ERHARDT, The Views of the Reformers on National Economy, (First Article.) 3. KLOSTERMANN, On the Calendar Signification of the Year of Jubilee. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. BAETHGEN, Critical Notes on Some Passages of the Text of the Psalms. 2. 1. HERDINGIUS, Hieronymi de viris inlustribus liber, etc., reviewed by L. [illegible]

Dr. Ernst Wadstein, the author of the first article in the fourth number, is lecturer in the theological faculty of the

Swedish University of Lund. The universities of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and the Netherlands, have entirely the same organization as the universities of Germany, and many of the professors have received part of their education at the German institutions, and their literary productions are frequently published by them not only in their native languages, but also in that of Germany. They are frequent contributors to the scientific periodicals of Germany, which, of course, give to their ideas a wider circulation than the periodicals of their own countries. Dr. Wadstein's article first gives a full statement of the religious views of the Stoics, and compares them with Christianity. He next examines the relation existing between Stoicism and the religio-philosophical tenets of the early heresies which troubled the infancy of the Christian Church when theological speculations within the Church had hardly begun. The author of all these early heresies was, according to Irenæus, Simon Magus, a Samaritan Jew, whose doctrine was probably systematized by his disciples, and is fully set forth in the Philosophoumena of Origen. His fundamental ideas are undoubtedly of Stoic origin. The author of the Philosophoumena asserts that Simon derived the principles of his system from Heraclitus, which is so far correct as we know that the Stoics themselves made use of that source. The theory of the Naassenes, which is likewise fully explained in the Philosophoumena, is closely similar to that of Simon. The theories of the Perates, of the Sethians, and of Justin do not greatly differ from that of the Naassenes, although in their conception of matter they appear chiefly to follow Plato. Pythagorean admixtures are discovered in the speculations which are ascribed to Monoïmus Arabs. In all the systems referred to we find the Stoic view of God as a fire, which is both the primitive force and the primitive matter of existence, and which is developed itself by the life of the world. The doctrines of the Docetae are largely under the influence of the speculations of Valentinus, and distinguish fundamentally between matter or darkness and the divine light of ideas which pours into them from above; but at the bottom of the Valentinian ideas a Stoic foundation will be discovered. Basilides, next to Valentinus the most prominent of the Gnostics, excels his predecessors by greater originality and by greater perfection in system-

atizing. The Stoic element in his system is also very apparent; it is oddly and ingeniously blended with Christian elements, and the latter occupy a much more prominent place in this system than in those mentioned before, although for its development Platonism and Orientalism have furnished very considerable contributions. All these systems, from Simon down to Basilides, were agreed in endeavoring to develop a Christianity freed from Jewish elements, and leaning on Greek philosophy or the religious ideas of the East. In direct opposition to them the Elkesaites, who belonged to the Jewish Christian sect of the Ebionites, identified true Christianity with true and primitive Judaism, and they hoped to restore the latter by removing all foreign elements from the former. They were, however, unable to accomplish this task, as they adopted the theosophy of the Essenes, and besides admitted into their system several pagan ideas, especially some of Oriental origin. Thus, although they had a different aim in view, they were drawn into contact with the Gnostics as soon as they became acquainted with them. The influence of Gnostic systems upon their views is especially found in the Clementine Homilies. Dr. Baur, in his work on "Apollonius of Tyana and Christ," and Dr. Schwegler, in his work on "The Post-Apostolic Age," have traced the influence of Pythagorean views on the theology of the Clementines; but, as Dr. Uhlhorn says, in his work on "The Homilies and Recognitions of Clemens Romanus," (Göttingen, 1854,) "The atmosphere in which this work lives, the cement which keeps the different elements together, is the Stoic philosophy." After following up the Stoic element in all the heresies of the early Christian Church, Dr. Wadstein next undertakes to show that even the Apologists of the first centuries, in their polemic works against pagans, Jews, and heretics, show unmistakable marks of being influenced by Stoic views. He examines in succession the works and systems of Justin, Athenagoras, Melito, Clement of Alexandria, and especially of Tertullian, whom he calls "the most noteworthy in the whole series of the celebrated Fathers of the ancient Church."

Art. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

A new work on India, by Emil Schlagintweit, which is now in the course of publication, (*Indien in Wort und Bild*, Leipsig,) contains very full information on the history of Christianity in that country. Three brothers of the author, Hermann, Adolf, and Robert, are well known for their extensive and successful geographical explorations in the Himalaya Mountains. Emil Schlagintweit is the author of several works on the history of India, and his frequent contributions to German papers on the present affairs of India are highly valued. A few extracts from his new work, relating to Christianity in India, will be of interest to all readers of the Quarterly.

No other province in India is so closely connected with the history of Christianity as Madras and the Malabar coast. Very near to the Christians, Jews were living from the remotest times. According to a native tradition, Saint Thomas, one of the apostles, landed in India, in the year 52. A German missionary, Germann, has written a volume of 800 pages on the Church of the Christians of Saint Thomas, in which he undertakes to prove that the apostle entered India near the mouth of the Indus, and labored at first in what is now the Punjab, among Dshats, before he set out to search in the south a more promising field. He sailed from Cranganor, on the Malabar coast, to Cochin. Here on the coast the apostle founded the first Christian congregations. Until recently a stone column was shown, near Quilon, which the apostle was said to have set up. Now it has been swallowed up by the sea. By the most frequented commercial road of those times he traveled into the interior of the country, established a congregation at Nellakul, which lies at the foot of the highest peak of the mountain, crossed the mountain, and advanced as far as the eastern coast. In Mailapoor, now called Little Mount, and situated within the territory of the city of Madras, the apostle settled. He labored here for about ten years, and is said to have finally been killed by the arrow of a hunter while he was absorbed in prayer. In the third century his bones were carried over to Edessa, the modern Arfa on the Euphrates. The traditions on the origin of the Indian Church vary; but in view of the fact that Roman writers were well acquainted with the coast and the political affairs of Coromandel, and that the existence of an active trade between Rome and South India is proved by the numerous coins belonging to the period of the first emperors which were found here, it is by no means impossible that South India was visited in the first century by a Christian apostle. The strong attachment to Little Mount Saint Thomas, which has been exhibited by the Indian Christians at all times, also indicated that there events of great importance for Christianity must have taken place.

The first foreigner who preached in India after Saint Thomas was Pan-

taenus, the learned head of the celebrated school of Alexandria. He landed, about 200, near the modern Bombay, and preached in the Gujerate as well as on the Indus. The Manicheans also tried to come into contact with the Indian Christians. The name Manigrama, which is found in the oldest document of a land grant to Christians, and which is interpreted as "village of Manes," is adduced as an argument that even Manes himself visited India. In 338 the Emperor Constantine sent the Indian Theophilus, a native of the island of Diu, which now belongs to Portugal, to Diu to gain the Indian Christians for Arianism. His efforts were neutralized by the Bishop of Edessa, but they prove that the Indian congregations at that time must have been both numerous and important, and that the bishop who signed his name in the minutes of the Council of Nice as "John, Bishop of Persia and Great India," must have actually exercised episcopal jurisdiction in India.

The first bishop who resided in India was Italoho, or Ahatalla. About 345, a merchant of Jerusalem, Thomas, led, by order of Bishop Eustathius of Edessa, a colony of Syrians to India, and settled with them near Cranganor. Mar Thomas, as he is called in the annals of Malabar, became a man of great influence, who gave to the Indian Church a permanent constitution. A peculiar feature in this constitution was that the high ecclesiastical dignity next to the bishop, who was a foreigner, was that of an archdeacon, which was hereditary in the family Palakommatta, which is designated by tradition as the first family converted by the Apostle Thomas. The Syrian language was introduced as the language of divine service, and has remained so up to the present day. These innovations led to a split between the old and the new Christians. After the death of Mar Thomas, this split even threatened the very existence of the Indian Church; but its ruin was averted by the arrival of the Nestorians. The early presence of the Nestorians in Southern India is proved by peculiar inscriptions on crosses and tablets, which are written in Pehlevi characters. When Roman Catholic missionaries, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, established a mission in India, they found the Indian Christians highly esteemed and in possession of lands and of the right of levying tolls. The rights of the Christians had been engraved, in 825, in the Old Tameel language, which was first deciphered by the German missionary, Grundert. The Portuguese were astonished to find in South India large congregations of Christians, especially on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel. The number of Indian Christians at that time was estimated at 200,000; the number of parishes at 1,500. For some time religious peace prevailed between the new-comers and the old Christians, but this came to an end when the Jesuits arrived, and, in 1541, established in Goa the seminary of the Holy Faith, which was subsequently called a university, and was visited by large numbers of natives. The Jesuits, aided by the power of Portugal and the Inquisition, made great efforts to subject the native Christian population to the rule of the Pope; but they resisted until 1599, when

the Archbishop Alcixo de Menezes, of Goa, at the Synod of Diamper, or Udiamper, prevailed upon about three fourths of the Nestorians to join the Church of Rome and adopt the Latin rite. The adherents of the old faith were cruelly persecuted, their priests were deprived of an opportunity to receive an education; they became very ignorant, and the laity became indifferent. In 1664 the Roman Catholic Church numbered eighty-four congregations, while thirty-two Old Syrian congregations kept aloof from a union with Rome. In 1653 the archdeacon of the family of Palokommata placed himself at the head of an agitation for repealing the act of union, and he applied to the Patriarch of Antioch, who resided in the Convent of Saphran, near Mardin, for sending him a bishop. In 1665 the Syrian bishop, Mar Gregory, landed in Malabar; but as the Patriarch of Antioch was a Jacobite, not a Nestorian, the Indian Christians became likewise Jacobites. The peace which in 1662 was concluded between Holland and Portugal put an end to the power of the Portuguese in India and to the influence of the Jesuits. Among the native Jacobites the archdeacon received the position of bishop. According to the census of 1872 the total number of Christians on the Malabar coast exceeded 600,000; among these are 64,000 United Syrians and 400,000 Independent Jacobites; the Protestant missionaries claim 20,300 converts; the Roman Catholics about 200,000. In the two native States of Cochin (601,114 inhabitants) and Travancore (2,311,379 inhabitants) every fifth inhabitant is a Christian. This shows a larger percentage of Christian population than the Roman Empire had at the time of the conversion of the Emperor Constantine, when their number was estimated at one tenth of the total population. The social position of the Christians is also very high. They equal in rank the Brahmans, and the contempt with which they treat some lower classes of the people as slaves has frequently been rebuked by the missionaries. They are chiefly employed in agriculture and commerce; as merchants they are highly esteemed for their honesty. Like the Christians of Kurdistan, they called themselves Nazareni. The Hindus add contemptuously Mophla, (Mapilla,) the name of a Mohammedan sect on the coast of Malabar, and in the census of Madras they have been returned as Mohammedan Christians. The priests are called Kassanar, from the Syrian word Quasis, Presbyter, and the Malabar word Nair, which signifies a prominent man; the deacons are called Shamshana; the native bishop, Mar Athanasius, who holds this position since 1844, is still a member of the old family of Palakommatta. Formerly all the priests were unmarried, but since their income, which was formerly altogether insufficient, has been greatly improved owing to the efforts of the English authorities, a large percentage of the village priests are married, and many scandals which used to arise from the immoralities of the celibate priest have now ceased. Education is making progress; in 1878 the village schools had 27,000 scholars and an ecclesiastical seminary provides for the education of priests. In their prayers, they begin more and more to substitute for the Old Syrian language, which is not understood by the laity, the lan-

guage of the country, Malayalim,* but the bishop, Mar Athanasius, is opposed to the desire of the English missionaries to use the native language for the whole of the divine service.

As the Jacobites in Asiatic Turkey are very poor, the Patriarchs of Antioch always endeavored to obtain as large amounts of money as possible from the Churches of Malabar. If the amount sent did not come up to their expectation, it was regarded by them as a proof of unfaithfulness on the part of the Indian Metropolitan. He was frequently deposed from office, and a successor sent. In 1848 there were at the same time five Metropolitans. None of them was recognized by the government. In 1857 the Directory of the East India Company ordered one out of the country, and declared that the Indian Christians had a right to acknowledge whom they pleased. In 1866 the native bishop, Mar Athanasius, chose a coadjutor likewise from the family of Palakommatta. These indications of defection alarmed the Patriarch of Antioch, Ignatius. He went, in 1874, to England to vindicate his claim. In 1875 he went to India, where his arrival, which had no precedent in the history of the Indian Church, produced great confusion.

About the same time the Patriarch of the United Syrian or Chaldean Church, which is connected with Rome, made an attempt to extend his jurisdiction over the native Indian Christians of Malabar, who thus far had been subject to the Latin Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly. It appears that many of these Christians had expressed a wish to have native bishops like Mar Athanasius, and that, in 1856, an embassy had been sent to Bagdad, the residence of the Chaldean Patriarch. The latter sent, in 1875, a bishop of his rite, Mellus, to India, but the Papal delegate at once pronounced against this bishop the sentence of excommunication. The government of the two countries in which these native Christians live, Cochin and Travancore, have issued proclamations, in which they refer the rival bishops to the courts. The final decision of the latter had not yet been given when Mr. Schlagintweit wrote this part of his work. These conflicts of jurisdiction gave rise to a new sect, called the "Six Years' People," which was founded in 1875, and predicted the second arrival of Christ for the year 1881. The sect has been joined by the Anglican clergyman, Justus Joseph, and several Brahmans who had been converted by him.

To the above abstracts from the work of Professor Schlagintweit we add a few facts from other sources. Enumerations, to ascertain the religious creed of the inhabitants of India, were taken in the various provinces during the years 1868 to 1876: in Berar and the Punjab 1868, in Oude 1869, in Ajmere and Coorg 1871, and in the remaining provinces from 1872 to 1876. A verification of all these returns, with the results of the general census of India, furnished the following classification of the leading creeds in the provinces under British administration:—

* In this language, the Hungarian Jesuit, Hanxleden, who died in Malabar March 20, 1732, composed several excellent poems. His history of Saint Genevieve in verse is still a popular book among the native Christians.

Creeds.	Numbers.
Hindus	139,248,568
Mohammedans	40,882,537
Buddhists	2,832,851
Sikhs	1,174,436
Christians	897,216
Other Creeds	5,102,823
"Religion Not Known"	1,977,400
Total	191,065,445

The following table shows the number of Christians in each of the provinces of India under British administration:—

Provinces.	Christians.
Bengal	90,763
Assam	1,947
North-west Provinces	22,196
Ajmere	807
Oude	7,761
Punjab	22,154
Central Provinces	10,477
Berar	903
Mysore	25,676
Coorg	2,410
British Burmah	52,299
Madras	533,760
Bombay	126,063
Total	897,216

It must be remembered that all the above figures refer to the provinces under direct British administration, and do not include the feudatory or native States. The latter have an aggregate population of 48,298,895. Two of the States of this class have already been referred to, as containing a Christian population of about 600,000. This, alone, would raise the Christian population of British India at 1,500,000. It must further be remarked that, as a general rule, the census appears to enumerate as Christians only those who have formally been received into one of the Christian denominations, not those who had declared their intention to become, Christians or who regularly attended Christian service. The total force of the Protestant Missionary Societies in India was represented, in 1879, by 1,833 ordained and assistant missionaries, and 88,149 communicants. The number of persons actually connected with Protestant communities in India, Ceylon, and Burmah was reckoned, in 1879, at 460,000. The nominally (Protestant) Christian population was estimated in the same year at 2,500,000, (*Baptist Missionary Magazine*, July, 1879.)

The organization of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in India* begins with the establishment of the Portuguese bishopric of Goa in 1532. In 1557 Goa was made an archbishopric, and in the same year two other episcopal sees, Cochin and Malacca, were established. When a part of the Christians of Saint Thomas united with Rome, in 1599, their archbishopric Angamala was placed, in 1600, as suffragan see under the archbishop of Goa. In 1605 it was again made an archbishopric, but the see was transferred to Cranganor. In 1606 a new bishopric was established on the eastern coast at Meliapoor. Other suffragan sees of Goa were established, in 1576 at Macao, on the coast of China, in 1588 at Funay, in Japan, in 1690 at Peking and Nankin. Then the ecclesiastical province embraced India, China, Japan, the Indian Islands, and Eastern Africa, exceeding, in point of territory, every other ecclesiastical province of the Roman Catholic Church. The King of Portugal had a right of nominating the bishops of these sees, but as this right was not exercised and the suffragan sees remained generally vacant, the Pope appointed, with-

* The following information on the Roman Catholic Church is chiefly taken from an article in the *Katholische Missionen*, 1880, January and May.

out the consent of Portugal, vicars apostolic to exercise the episcopal functions. The first vicar apostolic was appointed for Malabar in 1659, and many others followed, until Pope Gregory XVI., in 1838, confined the archdiocese of Goa to the Portuguese possessions Gujerate and a few Portuguese congregations in British India, dissolved the bishoprics of Cranganor, Cochin, Meliapoor, and Malacca, and divided the whole of the British possessions among the vicariates apostolic. For nearly two hundred years the Portuguese government, aided by most of the Portuguese bishops and priests in India, made a violent opposition to the measures adopted by the Pope, but they have finally recognized their resistance as useless. In 1879 the Church had in British India, inclusive of the Portuguese and French possessions, twenty-two dioceses, nearly all called vicariates apostolic. The aggregate population is given as about 1,450,000.

Art. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

Among the theological text-books used at the German universities Hagenbach's Encyclopedia and Methodology has long occupied a prominent place. Through the author's lifetime it has passed through nine editions, and now, after his death, the tenth edition has been published by Prof. E. Kautzsch, (*Encyclopadie und Methodologie der theologischen Wissenschaften.* Leipz. 1880.) The book is especially complete in its literary department, and it is almost indispensable to those who wish to inform themselves on the entire literature on any particular subject.

No less than three histories of Christian missions are now in the course of publication in Germany: 1. Dr. Burckhardt's *Kleine Missionsbibliothek*, the second edition of which is published by Dr. Grundemann, the well-known author of the Missionsatlas; 2. *Missionsbilder*, published at Calw; and, 3, the "History of Christian Missions among Pagans," by Dr. Kalkar, one of the foremost theologians of Denmark, who publishes simultaneously with the Danish original a German translation. Dr. Burckhardt's *Missionsbibliothek* is especially noted for its valuable geographical and ethnological introductions. The *Missionsbilder* are edited by Dr. Gundert, one of the best informed German writers on Christian missions. Dr. Kalkar's history is the only one which embraces within its scope the Roman Catholic missions, the two other confining themselves to the history of Protestant missions.

Tiele's "Outline of the History of Religion," which was originally published in 1876 in the Dutch language, at Amsterdam, and in 1877 appeared in an English translation, has now been translated into German by Dr. Weber. (*Compendium der Religionsgeschichte.* Berlin. 1880.) The work is generally regarded as the best on the subject which has thus far appeared. The German translation is indebted to the author for several

new contributions, and the section which relates to the later history of Brahmanism has been entirely rewritten. The author of the work is Professor of the General History of Religion at the Dutch University of Leyden. All the Dutch universities have a special chair for the general history of religion, and after this model a special professorship for the same study has been established at the College de France, at Paris, and at the Catholic University of the same city.

FRANCE.

A work of great learning on the primitive history of the human race has been published by Prof. Franc Lenormant, a scholar already very favorably known by a number of other works on ancient history, (*Les origines de l'histoire d'après la Bible et les traditions des peuples orientaux.* Paris, 1880.) As the title indicates, the book compares the accounts of the Bible on the origin of man with the traditions of other Oriental nations. The first volume contains the time from the creation of man to the deluge; other volumes are to follow. The matter given in this first volume is divided into the following groups: The creation of man, the fall, the cherubim and the flaming sword, the fratricide and the foundation of the first city, the Sethites and the Cainites, the ten antediluvian patriarchs, the children of God and the daughters of men, the deluge. Numerous appendices contain translations and partly explanations of the most important documents from which the parallel accounts have been taken, as the cuneiform texts, Berosus, Sanchoniathon, Damascius, etc. A very explicit index facilitates the use of the book. At the head of his preface the author places the words of Montaigne: C'est ici, lecteurs, un livre de bonne foy; and he wishes to indicate by them that his investigations do not conflict with the belief in the Christian revelation and in the Catholic Church, to which the author belongs.

A new periodical has been begun in France, which is to be exclusively devoted to the history of religions. Its full title is: *Revue de l'histoire des religions publiée sous la direction de M. Maurice Vernet avec le concours de MM. A. Barth, A. Bouché-Leclerq, P. Decharme, etc.* Every year six numbers will be published. Its character will be exclusively historical and polemical, and dogmatic articles will be excluded. As the history of the Christian Church has already special organs, this periodical will chiefly treat of the ancient and modern religions of the East and the ancient religions of the West. It will, however, make an exception in regard to the introduction of Christianity in the middle and in the north of Europe. Every number of the Review will have seven sections: 1. Essays; 2. Critical reviews of recent literature by several contributors, as, on Ancient Egypt, by Maspero; on Old-Aryan Mythology and the Indian Religions, by A. Barth; on Assyria, by St. Gayard; on Greece, by Decharme; on Italy, by Bouché-Leclerq; on the Mythology of Gaul, by Gardoz; on Judaism and Christianity, by the editor-in-chief; 3. Notices and Documents; 4. Comptes Rendus; 5. Contents of other Periodicals; 6. Chronicles; 7. Bibliography.

Art. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Pre-adamites; or, A Demonstration of the Existence of Men before Adam; together with a Study of their Condition, Antiquity, Racial Affinities, and Progressive Dispersion over the Earth. With Charts and other Illustrations. By Alexander Winchell, LL.D. 8vo., pp. 500. Chicago: S. G. Grigg & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1880.

Of Dr. Winchell's successive publications none appears to have made so powerful an impression upon the public mind as the present magnificent volume. With the single exception of the uncandid and indiscriminate depreciation against the book, or rather against its author, in the "Independent," every notice which we have seen in the various periodicals, secular, religious, literary, or scientific, has been courteous and appreciative. These various notices clearly indicate that, however popular fancy may be excited by the disturbing utterances of science, a real and deep interest is felt in behalf of a real adjustment between science and Scripture. The great mastery of the vast subject manifested in the work, and the boldness, frankness, and sincerity of the spirit, will command the attention of even those who are not ready to adopt the conclusions of the volume in its attempt at furnishing at least one method of reconciliation. Without claiming to measure swords with an expert on his own grounds, we venture to state wherein his solutions, which are really addressed *ad populum*, do not convey a clear conviction to our own mind as one of the people.

The book does honor to the enterprising Chicago house that issues it by its entire style of material and execution, and its copious illustrations, among which especially is a fine theoretical map of the origin and migrations of the race, after the example of Haeckel, but with modifications by Dr. W. that make it truly his own. We may best illustrate Dr. Winchell's scheme under guidance of this map. Assuming then that our race takes origin at the now submerged land of Lemuria, of which Madagascar is an unburied remnant, our author traces the various routes of migration over the earth. From this primordial spot, first, there departs a line eastward to Australia, and thence over the Pacific isles to South America; and this marks the track of the earliest and lowest of the human race, the *Australians*. Next, westward curves a line into the southern half of Africa, cutting various graceful figures, and ending with an arrow's head at various points, and this is the next earliest and lowest race, the *Negroes*. The third line,

of a brown color, shoots up northward, and sweeps over all northern Europe and North America, symbolizing the great brown Mongoloid race. Finally a briefer line, ascends to western Asia, called the Dravidian; but as it begins to turn its course from north to west, it changes its color from dark brown to bright red, indicating that the Dravidian had become Caucasian, and is now curving his beautiful lines over the lands of modern Christendom. Our Adamic race is, therefore, traceable back to Lemuria through the Dravidian, and the change from dark to red, marks when and where by an upward development the Adamic race begins. Now in Genesis the word Adam in the Hebrew has really two meanings. It is a race name, designating a people, and a personal, designating an individual. As a race name, Adam begins with the reddening of the Dravidians into Adamites: as a personal name, Adam designates the earliest ancestor known to the Jews.

The process by which the transition is made from Dravidian to Adamite is a purely natural one, and is suggested to be by an *albinosis*. We are told, (p. 349:) "Dr. John Davy, after describing a fine Albino girl of Ceylon, adds: 'It is easy to conceive that an accidental variety of this kind might propagate, and that the white race of mankind is sprung from such an accidental variety. The East Indians are of this opinion; and there is a tradition or story among them in which this origin is assigned to us.'" But if a white race thus suddenly springs up by an *albinosis*, why not a black race by a *melanosis?*

Let us now suppose that a Dr. Rawlinson, assuming the literal biblical Genesis narrative with the Septuagint chronology, and a degeneracy of the race from its origin, should construct a counter ideal racial map. Assuming, not with Dr. W., that "man is a tropical animal," but that he is a semi-tropical *being*, created at the center, most suited to his highest nature, he finds that as the race diverges from that center it deteriorates under various depressing conditions, physical and moral, external and internal. He shows, from Peschel perhaps, how rapidly immigrations can take place in early ages when men are hardy and adventurous, and yet how large a share of the earth is found unoccupied even in late prehistoric times. He shows how much more plastic the race was in filling out its programme of possible divergences in the rapidly incurred conditions, and how permanent the traits acquired by the divergent varieties of race often become. He may find no great difficulty in showing how, after the flood, the three

sons of Noah may, within the thousand or two years from the flood permitted by the Septuagint, have sent the Mongol, the Negro, and the Australian, with all their present characteristics, to about their present abodes. Guided by that wonderful chart of ethnology, the tenth chapter of Genesis down to its date, he justly presumes that it must be supplemented by later history. The projecting lines of that chart are pointers, and Dr. R. finds it easy by simply developing them in their indicated directions to bring his pencil to every point of present human habitation.

Two points, especially, will Dr. W. make against this rival map. *First*, evolution, whether by genetic derivation, or by divine fiat, is always ascending, so that we must find the earliest race in the lowest; and, *second*, the rate of change in races is immensely slow, so that ages on ages are necessary for the production of the present divergences of races. On both these points, with our present light, we are disposed to concur with Rawlinson.

On the *first* of these two points Dr. W. has written an able chapter, which, after our repeated reading, seems to us to miss the real point. *Species*, we admit, do as a general law, both by the Mosaic and Darwinian evolution, *ascend;* but certainly *varieties* of species do abundantly *degenerate*. Now Rawlinson may affirm that man is a species, and all his degenerations are varieties, and varieties, even in the animal world, are largely degenerate. Says Professor Cabell, of the University of Virginia, ("Unity of Mankind," Carters, 1859,) "Swine in some countries have degenerated into races, which in singularity far exceed anything that has been found strange in bodily variety in the human race." That seems a pregnant sentence. Here is a vast animal species whose Adam comes first, whose varieties degenerate down an inclined plane to the lowest extreme. Professor Winchell's law seems to be reversed. The highest is first, the lowest is last. Adam we find at the summit, degenerating through the Mongoloid and the Negro to the Australian.

Our *second point* is a query whether the formation of a new variety requires a long period of time. And here, first, we can easily conceive a superior plasticity to variation in a young species. Endowed within itself with a certain range of possible variations, the human species quickly, by emigration ranging through the various conditions of the earth, may early fill out its programme of possible variations, and then the varieties may by continuance acquire almost the fixedness of species. A new

variety may start in a single individual. Seth Wright's celebrated new breed of sheep, whose legs were too short to leap fences, commenced with a single birth. And the following late and well-authenticated fact raises a grave suspicion that in the human species a variation of the extremest kind may commence with a single individual. We adduce it from the "Philadelphia Press" of May 2, 1880.

In the year 1879 there was born to Mary Salter, the Irish-descended wife of John Salter, an Englishman by descent, residing in number 1307 Lemon-street, Philadelphia, a beautiful boy with ruddy face and profuse silky-brown hair, who was baptized two weeks later. In a few days his face began to darken, his hair grew stiff and crisp and his eyes black. "At last he became as black as a full-blooded negro," and was attacked with spasms. Dr. Reynolds, of Eighteenth and Poplar streets, was called, and pronounced it a case of entire *melanosis*. On being visited by a "Press" reporter, Dr. Reynolds "said the case was a difficult one to explain, as there is so little medical literature on the subject. It was, he said, a case of what he would call melanosis, or over-production of pigment. Melanin, as the pigment giving color to the hair and eyes, and which gives the boy's skin its dark color, is called, is thought to be produced in the brain, the nerve center of the body. In this case there is a great over-production. The opposite state of affairs is where a negro turns white, or where portions of a white person turn even whiter. This is caused by a lack of production of pigment, and is termed *leucoderma*. It is produced by nerve affection. Colored persons with white spots upon them are not rare, neither are cases of white people having parts of their body whiter than the rest. The doctor said that the case under consideration was the first known where the whole body had become black." "I first saw the boy," said he, "when he was thirteen months' old. He was then as black as any negro, but he is now growing lighter, and when he relapsed in general health he grew darker again; but, on the whole, he has gradually lost his dark color, and will eventually be white." Future research may show that such sudden change from one extreme of race to another, at first perhaps as a disease, is no impossibility. Dr. Winchell suggests that the Caucasian came from the Dravidian by an albinosis. We prefer to suspect that the negro may have degenerated from the Caucasian, in accordance with the law of variety, by a melanosis. Dr. W. believes it incredible that the negro type could have arisen within

five hundred and nine years from Noah. We can easily be made to believe that the surplus pigmentation may have taken place in the family of Noah and in the person of Ham, the black.

Dr. W. distinguishes race inferiority into *structural* and *cultural;* and he pronounces the negro inferiority to be structural. But does not the cultural often, and we may say always, become structural? To show how suddenly such degeneration could take place, we quoted an instance from Brace of its occurrence in fifty years. This Dr. W. subjected to a criticism too extended for our brief room for reply, and we take another instance. In 1611 a body of Ulster Irish were driven by war into a mountainous region, and exposed to the worst effects of hunger and ignorance, the two great brutalizers of the human race. "The descendants of these exiles are now distinguished physically by great degradation. They are remarkable for open, projecting mouths, with prominent teeth and exposed gums; and their advancing cheek bones and depressed noses bear barbarism on their very front. In Sligo and Northern Mayo the consequences of the two centuries of degradation and hardship exhibit themselves in the whole physical condition of the people, affecting not only the features but the frame. Five feet two inches, on an average—pot-bellied, bow-legged, abortively featured, their clothing a wisp of rags—these specters of a people that were once well-grown, able-bodied, and comely, stalk abroad into the daylight of civilization, the annual apparition of Irish ugliness and Irish want." Here observe how *cultural* deterioration became *structural*, how truly negroid some of these traits were, and in how brief a time it was accomplished on one of the most florid types of the Caucasian race.

Dr. W., however, admits deteriorations, but affirms that they are always only local. But how do we know that? We see continent-wide inferiorities to the highest type. How do we know that those inferiorities are not deteriorations? We have carefully read and re-read his able chapter in which this affirmation occurs and find an entire omission of answer. Looking over the surface of mankind, we find constant elevations and deteriorations; and when we ask for the proof that the deteriorations precede the elevations we get no response. Why may not Rawlinson be right in taking loftiest position with Adam, and looking down the vast inclined plane of the race, varied by hills and vales, to the lowest Australian level, conceive that the highest is first, the last lowest?

Dr. Winchell gives us an admirable analysis of the dispersion of the sons of Noah, as furnished by the Hebrew record, and does

his best to build a solid fence between the Hamite, Cushites, or Ethiopians, and the negroes. Yet he is obliged to confess "that it is difficult to tell where the Hamite ends and the Negro begins." What a fair basis for the conclusion that the Negro is but a more deeply African Cushite! That the Cushite was pretty much a Negro is clear from the query, "Can an Ethiopian [Cushite] change his skin?" And there seems just excuse for assuming that the Negro of the slave-trade is the extreme result of the local miasms of Africa, mostly south of Sahara, working upon susceptible Cushite constitutions, rendered greatly permanent by long continuance. Brace says: "All travelers agree that the color of the Africans, to a certain degree, changes according to the heat and dampness, the same tribe (as the Batoka, for instance) being black or lighter colored as they are exposed in a greater or less degree to these two influences. The lines of language, as, for instance, those of the Kaffir family, cut across the distinctions of color, and one undoubted race may embrace persons of jet black and others with unmixed blood of a light copper color. . . . What is called the 'negro type'—that is, the low type of the coast of Guinea—is comparatively the exception." He quotes an eminent *savant*, Abbadie, a resident for eleven years in Eastern Africa, as saying, "It would be impossible to say where the negro begins and the red man ends." And Peschel puts it still more pointedly: "In some tribes the nose is pointed, straight, or hooked; even 'Grecian profiles' are spoken of, and *travelers say with surprise that they cannot perceive any thing of the so-called negro type among the negroes.*" May we not also wonder that Dr. W. lays so much stress on the "structural" inferiority of the negro, inferred from the slaver's "natural selection" of the most depressed of the race? The first Negro, then, if he did not come immediately from the family of Noah, was the first Cushite upon whose internal predispositions, the malarial and other necessary conditions were so superinduced as to complete the melanosis. Cabell tells us that the Nubians of the White Nile were once negroes, transported by the Emperor Diocletian from a western oasis to their present locality, where they have by reversion become virtual Egyptians in a few centuries. The Magyars, or Hungarians of Europe, the countrymen of Kossuth, were originally a tribe of low Mongoloids, and it has taken but one thousand years for them, boasting of their pure blood, to become about the finest race of Europe. They have required but that brief period to bridge the chasm between the Mongoloid and the virtual Cauca-

sian, yet not without some interesting traces in their persons of their origin. Cabell remarks, that some believe that they see signs of negro advance in America; but he doubts it, as there has not been sufficient time. If we give the Magyar one thousand years, give the negro from five to fifteen hundred.

There nevertheless remains the linguistic separation between the Hamite and the negro as a difficulty in the identification of the two as one race. But this is a very imperfectly explored field. At present it seems that different sections of the same great Negro race may be as totally separate in language from each other as they are from the Hamites. African plasticity may here be a law to itself.

In his depreciation of the negro, induced not by prejudice or inhumane feeling, but by the demands of his theory, Dr. W. is, we think, extreme. "Mental sluggishness" is surely a trait which few of us would attribute to the negro. Activity, even to volatility, we should sooner ascribe. The Negro is the only race which even in slavery was ever complimented as requiring laws forbidding his education to prevent his attaining ascendency. As to his character since his emancipation, Dr. Ruffner, for ten years Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Virginia, reports: "He wants to do right, and is the most amiable of races. The negro craves education, and I believe his desire has increased; it certainly has not diminished. He makes fully as great sacrifices to send his children to school as the laboring classes of the whites. The civilization of the race is progressing, and *even faster than his thoughtful friends anticipated.* The negroes are a highly improvable race. A surprising proportion of enlightened, right-thinking men have already risen from their ranks; men who have taken a respectable position; some in learned professions, some in editing and printing newspapers, and some in management of business."

Our strong objection to Dr. W.'s method of reconciliation is that it seems not so much to reconcile Scripture with science as to abolish the former and substitute the latter. The divine primordial instauration of Adam and Eden shrinks to a myth and a nothing. A gigantic roller is propelled over all the narrative, leveling it to flat naturalism. The same roller passing over the incarnation would leave us with the gospel of Renan. Such is not the result in Dr. Winchell's mind, but such is the tendency upon the general mind. Not atheism, but pure naturalism, is the outcome of Darwinism.

Dr. Winchell deserves the public thanks for his manly repudiation of the geologic man of Europe. Under the blows delivered upon said man by the hands of Southall, Dawson, and our author, his state of disintegration is pretty complete. As to the miocene man predicted by Dr. W., he is but an antithetic phantasm to the Lemurian man. Neither have any place in science, natural or biblical. So that there is at present but slight necessity for any biblical adjustment to pre-adamiteism. And as for Darwinism, it seems at the present hour to lie in a state of disproof. Says Virchow: "I should be neither surprised nor astonished if the proof were produced that man had ancestors among other vertebrate animals. But I am bound to declare that every positive advance which we have made in the province of prehistoric anthropology has actually removed us farther from the proof of such a connection." If that proof comes, "the abrupt transformism" of Naudin, with the aid of Mivart, Wallace, and our author, may supply all due adjustments both to the Mosaic evolution of the first chapter of Genesis and the supernatural Edenic instauration of the second. A written document, as a will in a court of justice, is often interpreted by the surrounding external circumstances of its first writing. If the adjacent facts are thus, the meaning is thus; if otherwise, otherwise. And so the Hebrew records may await their true interpretation by scientific facts. At present we prefer provisionally to stand with Rawlinson upon the Septuagint chronology and a created personal Adam.

The Congregationalism of the last Three Hundred Years, as seen in its Literature. With Special Reference to Certain Recondite, Neglected, or Disputed Passages. In Twelve Lectures, delivered on the Southworth Foundation in the Theological Seminary at Andover, Mass., 1876–79. With a Bibliographical Appendix. By HENRY MARTYN DEXTER. 8vo., pp. 326. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Born almost within sight of Plymouth Rock, with the richest of Puritan blood in his veins, Dr. Dexter felt an innate "mission" for being the historiographer of Congregationalism. "The maggot in the brain" bit sharply, and he has performed his arduous task with what appears great ability and success, of furnishing to the world a clearer and fuller view of the facts of the genesis and evolutions of Independency, than it has heretofore possessed. The newness of his performance arises largely from the greater accessibility of the past literatures of the periods under review. Not only in America, but in England, Holland, and France, new sources of historic information have opened be-

fore his active researches. Even bishops and archbishops have revealed hitherto concealed stores of documents. And he was specially aided by the remarkable fact that in the days of intolerance the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York had preserved collections of Puritan books and pamphlets for the writing of which they had "harried and hanged" the authors. It would thence seem that these prelates were not ashamed of their own doings, as not unwilling that the books they denounced should speak to future ages for themselves.

The magnitudinous volume is not only a book, but we might well call it a series of books. First we have an Introduction, an interesting book of sixteen octavo pages. Next we have an Analysis of twenty pages, very exact and convenient, not only for reference by the student to individual topics, but for the reviewer, who can get an insight and oversight of the whole subject without minutely reading the whole volume. Then we have the central book itself, the History. Finally, we have an Appendix, a book of three hundred and twenty-six pages.

Dr. Dexter's style is strongly individualistic and incisive, leading us often through long and interrupted periods with a clearly announced sense at the end. And strongly in love with his subject and his heroes as he is, straining apology sometimes to the utmost tension, he is conscientiously alive to the sacred obligations of historic truth. His work has a special interest for Congregationalists; yet it has a great value for all Christian scholars, and even sheds some new light over the history of England during its period which the secular historian must recognize. If Dr. Dexter would separate the catalogue of publications from the main volume, reduce the latter to a duodecimo form, and diminish thereby its price, he might send the history proper broadcast among the people, and so largely increase its sale and its general usefulness.

Congregationalism and Prelacy are opposite extremes of ecclesiasticism. And as Prelacy, sustained by centuries of historic supremacy, was reigning in its full despotic power, it was to be expected that when the time of discussion came the opposite extreme should develop itself with mighty force. Great were the services rendered mankind by the insurgent movement in defining and asserting, at whatever cost, the right of a free conscience, a right triumphant in America and struggling toward its triumph among all the nations of the earth. Profoundly honest, though profoundly wrong, was the prelatic side. For ages it had

understood that Prelacy and Christianity were identical, and this breaking up its organism seemed chaos back again. Recusance, therefore, was crime to be punished, and the assertion of general freedom for recusance was simply the maintenance of anarchy. It became a bloody contest, and for a brief while Independency became supreme. Dr. Dexter, with profound historic honesty, doubts whether its speedy downfall did not save it from contradicting, in the day of its power, the free principles it had asserted in its years of weakness. Be that as it may, it is certain that against that supremacy the recoil of the people of England was terrible; terrible in more senses than one. Independency was a better rebel than ruler.

When Episcopacy is completely abolished and a Church crystallizes into Congregationalism, the defects of the latter disclose themselves. A commonwealth is formed in which *rights* are well secured; but there are a general disconnection and inefficiency. But the free Episcopacy without prelacy of primitive times being restored, there is less jealousy of rights and more earnestness for enterprise and achievement. Congregationalism is a *commonwealth*, but such an Episcopacy, is an *army*, where a definite object is to be accomplished, a victory to be won is kept in view. The victory comes as the recompense of the resignation of "rights." It is thus that sacrifice often attains a higher reflex good than the most conservative selfishness.

Letters on the Eucharist. Addressed to a Member of the Church of Rome, formerly a Preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church. By E. O. Phinney, A.M., M.D. 12mo., pp. 393. Baltimore: Published for the Author, by D. H. Carroll, Methodist Book Depository. 1880.

Dr. Phinney is an *alumnus* of Middletown of long years standing, graduated under the auspices of President Fisk. As his doctorate is medical rather than theological it could hardly be anticipated that he would make so bold an incursion into the polemical field. Into this trenchant raid he was led by peculiar circumstances. A friend of his, a Methodist preacher, not only seceded to Rome, but sent back his argumentations to his old acquaintance, requiring them to follow his example, questioning their salvation if they refused. Dr. Phinney investigated the subject thoroughly and fundamentally, as became a thinker, a scholar, and a profoundly honest man. The result of his examination appears in the admirable volume before us.

The title does not perhaps sufficiently disclose to the reader the

fact that the book is truly a treatise upon the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation. Our author selected this point of discussion as being the hinge upon which conversions often turn. To this question, therefore, he applies himself, ranging through Scripture, and the early fathers, and through the domains of logic and metaphysics, where the battle is hotly contested. He first devotes three full chapters to a discussion, exegetical and patristical, of a passage celebrated in this controversy, the sixth chapter of the Gospel of John, making large use, with full credit, of Professor Turner's essay on the chapter, and in the end he shows that both a true analysis of the text and the authority of the primitive Church disprove the physical sense of that discourse. He next examines our Saviour's words at the instituting of the supper and clearly disproves the physical interpretation. He discusses in succession the dicta of both the anti-Nicene and post-Nicene fathers and finds no transubstantiation. The topics of figurative language and symbol, the evidences of the senses, the half-communion, the sacrifice of the mass, the worship of the sacrament, and, finally, the late historical rise of the dogma of transubstantiation, pass under successive and sharply critical review. An Appendix is added, presenting in the original Greek or Latin all the quotations from the fathers made in the text in English, enabling the learned reader to verify the accuracy of his translation. The style is concise, clear, animated, and exact. We know no monograph on the subject that presents the argument in so conclusive and concise a form.

The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit; or, The Philosophy of the Divine Operation in the Redemption of Man. By JAMES B. WALKER, D.D., Author of "The Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation," etc. 12mo., pp. 225. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Dr. Walker's first eminent work, "The Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation," gave a new synthesis of thought to the Christian world, and established his character as an original and suggestive thinker. His successive volumes manifest, though not in an equal degree, the same power of suggestive thought, and are well worthy the attention of thoughtful Christians. The present volume deals with a subject of primal importance, both theoretical and practical, with great clearness and definiteness of thought, and may be well studied as a regulator of thought on the subject by preacher and people.

Mind, being generic, whether divine or human, there is possible

a spiritual communion between God and man. Our author's object is, therefore, to trace through reason and Scripture the real mode of such communion in the actual divine administration, and thence its realization in the human experience. In successive chapters he discusses the impartation of the Spirit in the various modes, to Christ, to the apostles, to believers, and to the impenitent.

Dr. Walker is strongly individualistic; he speaks with a disrespect in these days of "creeds," and (*horresco referens*) of commentators. We doubt whether his views of the Trinity are extremely Athanasian; we dissent from his impeachment of the apostolicity of Matthias; we query as to his illustration of the incarnation by the creation of a new species; and we think our own exposition of the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew better than his. But in his guardianship against fanaticism in regard to the Spirit, his narratives of the practical reality of the indwelling Spirit in the experiences of Christians at the present day, and in the general tenor of his argument, we recognize a very refreshing statement of the doctrine of the Spirit. The extended extract from Jeremy Taylor on this most interesting topic, is, to use a trite expression, worth the price of the book.

The First Epistle of John. A Contribution to Biblical Theology. By ERICH HAUPT. Translated, with an Introduction, by W. B. POPE, D.D., Didsbury College, Manchester. 8vo., pp. 385. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1879. [Specially imported edition by Scribner & Welford, Price, $3.]

This volume claims to be "a contribution" rather than a commentary subject to the laws of that class of publication. Its aim is to so submit the words of St. John to an ultimate "microscopic" analysis as to obtain a clear insight into its deepest meanings. Especially does the author bring to bear his discriminative powers to bear upon the apostle's unique and most characteristic terms such as *eternal life*, *light*, *anointing*, *truth*, *love*, *anomia*, and thence deduce a view of his system of sacred thought. All this he does with a wealth of learning and a keenness of acumen, as, in the opinion of eminent critics, to furnish fresh views and rich suggestions to the scholar, the Christian thinker, and the pulpit.

Of the writer himself our translator informs us that he knows nothing except his authorship of the present, his only production. It was when first published accepted by German critics "as among the best contributions to a literature already very rich, devoted to the exposition of St. John's writings." It is noted as a specialty that he quotes no previous commentators. He does not,

like Meyer and others, incumber his pages with the varying and conflicting opinions of his predecessors, but quietly writes as if no one had ever written before him. We agree with Dr. Pope that this seems hardly "fair." To go quietly ahead appropriating every-body and thanking nobody is rather cool. Perhaps the modest author would care little if his successors should appropriate his originalities as if their own, and perhaps he would think an acknowledgment of his labors a desirable recompense for their performance.

The Daily Round. Meditation, Prayer, and Praise Adapted to the Course of the Christian Year. With an Introduction and other Additions; by the Right Rev. ARTHUR CLEVELAND COXE, D.D., LL.D. 16mo., pp. 412. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1880.

Says Bishop Coxe most truly, "He ministers to a fundamental want of these active and worldly times of ours, who calls the soul, every day, away from the world to the spiritual words of Scripture." A few daily, individual secret moments, filled with God and eternity, are a great regulator for the soul. Dr. Dwight, the eminent President of Yale, for years practiced the habit of daily spending a few moments in endeavoring to realize the moment of death. This recall of the soul to the solemnities of its own being, it is the purpose of this beautiful volume to aid. Its style is simple, pure, devout, avoiding all prettinesses of phrase and giving expression to the sincerest devotion. Its retention of the ecclesiastical terms for the days of the Christian year used by the elder Churches of Christendom might render it less acceptable to many Christians, as it would not have done to John Wesley.

The Life and Writings of St. John. By JAMES M. MACDONALD, D.D. Edited with an Introduction by the Very Reverend J. S. HOWSON, D.D. 8vo., pp. 456. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880.

This admirable effort at a full-sized portraiture of St. John we have noticed on a former occasion. The work aids us in taking the apostolic person from out the sacred haze of our biblical contemplations and making him a real and a historic character. It is modeled after Conybeare and Howson's Life of Paul, and is a suitable companion to that great work. We differ from the author as to the order and date of John's successive writings, and we seem to see that an inferior picture of the apostle's life-progress results from his scheme; but the Scripture student and preacher will find the work a prize in his course of study.

Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature. Prepared by the Rev. JOHN M'CLINTOCK, D.D., and JAMES STRONG, S.T.D. Vol. IX. Rh–St. 8vo., pp. 1083. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

The learned editor remarks in his preface, "The progress has been more rapid as the task approaches completion. The tenth volume may be expected during the ensuing year." A fresh and beautiful map of the Sinaitic peninsula accompanies the volume. After completion of the regular volumes a Supplement will follow, bringing the topics down to the latest dates. And we imagine that an annual supplement might be necessary hereafter, suggesting a biblical periodical. The editor may be congratulated upon the approaching completion of his great work.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The True Story of the Exodus of Israel: Together with a Brief View of The History of Monumental Egypt. Compiled from the Work of Dr. Henry Brugsch-Bey. Edited with an Introduction and Notes. By FRANCIS H. UNDERWOOD. Small 12mo., pp. 260. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Charles T. Dillingham. 1880.

It seems to be the aim, not wholly unsuccessful, of Mr. Underwood to furnish a popular review of Egyptology, in cheap form and accessible to the million. He writes in a fresh, clear style, has a fine enthusiasm for his subject, and presents a decidedly readable view of a fragmentary history, hitherto held uninteresting to average minds. He has, or claims to have, a heroic belief in the high antiquity of Egypt, the wonderful genius of its people, and the primitive excellence of its religion. He delights to trace the coincidences of Egyptian history with the Hebrew records. He gives a full copy of the thirty dynasties of the Tablet of Abydos, and his placing before his readers Dr. Brugsch's monograph on the Exodus, which has awakened a lively discussion, is timely.

But there are two or three points upon which we wish Mr. Underwood's work were better than it is. With decided inconsistency he first narrates the legends of Menes and his successors, as if they were valid chronology and history; and then when he comes to Senofer he confesses that king to be "the first of whom much is really known;" "his predecessors are shadows." Why then has he given such factitious reality to these "shadows" in his earlier pages? And in the fifth chapter he confesses that "for the most part a veil of impenetrable darkness rests upon the long

period down to the end of the eleventh dynasty. The twelfth dynasty stands out in a light that has *almost* the clearness of authentic history." It is this equivocation, produced by a straining after a false effect, which brings just contempt upon the so-called science of Egyptology. The first eleven dynasties are the product largely of the invention of the Egyptian priests in flattery of the Pharaohs of a long after-date, unsustained by inscribed monuments or records contemporary with the supposed personages or facts. They have no chronological validity whatever. All Brugsch himself can say is that the Egyptian public in the time of King Seti I. did believe the geneaological papyrus of that Pharaoh. But Egypt had no public mind that dared doubt what the dicta of the priests and the mandate of the despot decreed to be fact. The authoritative lie was unquestionable truth. The second point of objection to Mr. Underwood's book is his interposing in its pages opinions honestly believed doubtless by himself, but entirely offensive to many who would like to be his readers. We do not love to be told that a pantheistic invocation to the Sun was as excellent a prayer as was ever offered. Nor do we wish to read the assurance that the Egyptian moral code was as excellent as ever was published, knowing as we do that the Mosaic decalogue in its first two commands swept the whole menagerie of Egyptianism as with a besom. In our late book notice of Renouf we showed how awful an apostasy and persistent degeneracy the religion of Egypt was. We might further illustrate how the blasphemous assumptions of the Pharaohs, insulted the true Jehovah, and their crushing despotism reduced the people to a brutalized servitude. "For this same purpose have I raised thee up," said Elohim to the mad vessel fitted by his own sins for destruction. And taking as we do Jehovah's own view of Pharaoh, his religion, and his people, we cannot readily away with Mr. Underwood's.

We think there is room, without interfering with Mr. Underwood's market, for a small popular work on Egyptology. It should be written with Mr. Underwood's fresh and pictorial style, and should be rich with engraved illustrations. It should give the legends of the first eleven dynasties, as on a level with Livy's first seven Roman kings. It should furnish that coloring of the Egyptian character not only which appears from the remains, but which is shed upon it by the sacred records. The rationalistic equalizing the chronology and religion of Egypt with that of the divine revelation should be conspicuously omitted.

History, Biography, and Topography.

The Science of Life; or, Animal and Vegetable Biology. By Rev. J. H. Wythe, A.M., M.D., Author of "Agreement of Science and Revelation," "The Microscopist," etc. 12mo., pp. 295. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1880.

Dr. Wythe and our publishers have here given us a beautiful book on the great system of earthly life. And the first point we note is that the work is not, after the fashion growing among scientists since the days of Comte, a godless performance. Time was when, even in such works as the "Principia," a Newton thought his work incomplete without inscribing thereon a reverent acknowledgment of God. But now almost every sciolist in a book of science seems to imagine a lofty dignity in ignoring the Ruler of the Universe. But it is not science, but the scientist, that is atheistic; and we render due approbation and our thanks to the scientists who, like our author, make a most beautiful work on the works of God, a tribute of honor and worship to their divine author.

Not formally but really the work divides itself into Three Parts. Part First discusses the general principles of Life. And here our author deals with the fundamental metaphysics of Life, its nature, origin, process of parentage, primal tissue-formation, and types of construction. Here is no little room for differences of opinion and earnest discussion. To every deep thinker such chapters are full of interest. While we might differ here on some points from the author, we gladly recognize the skill with which, often in a very quiet statement, he neutralizes the sophisms of a Huxley, a Spencer, or a Darwin, and shows truth in its clear and natural light. Part Second, embracing chapters vi–x, traces the ascending genera of vegetable life. Here, by the deft engraver's art, we pass through a land of flowers. There are in this floral world so many beautiful and even cunning and funny things that we know that the divine mind has not undesignedly given to humanity a sense of the quaint and humorous. Part Third, chapters xi–xvi, begins back at the bottom, and traces the ascending terraces of the animal kingdom from the humblest Protozoa to the crowning Anthropos. Here our author well asserts, from Quatrefage, that in estimating Man, the *mind* should as truly be brought into consideration by science as the instincts and mental habits of the bees, ants, and beavers. And so estimating, Man instantaneously stands a kingdom by himself, and an apparent division of a kingdom above all

the animal kingdoms of this world, his very mental qualities being an index of his belonging to a higher state of being. And we here see with what cunning and devilish design it is that materialistic anthropologists depreciate psychology and aim at reducing all anthropology to anatomy that they may, by leaving mind out of account, brutalize humanity and extinguish the hope of immortality in the human heart. Yet we agree with our author in refusing to share in the extreme depreciation of the lower animals practiced by some more Christian writers. Concede to the animal being all that God has conferred upon him. We would not, perhaps, quite agree with him in saying that "the differences" between human and brute mind, are "of degree rather than in kind." The difference of "degree" amounts to a difference in "kind." For instance, when we recognize a moral quality in animals, as the dog, it is of a different kind from the moral quality inspired by conscience in man and regulated by the Law of eternal Right. So far, indeed, as both are manifestations of *mind* they are the same in *kind;* but so far as the *species* of mentality is concerned they are vastly different in species or *kind*, with a difference that takes hold of eternity. Hence we cannot quite, with Dr. Wythe, find the only proof of man's immortality in revelation alone. We see it in man's psychological structure. And then we also see it in man's anatomical structure, which is formed to be the adjusted organ of man's highest as well as lowest nature. His brain is the organ of immortal consciousness; his hand is the organ to perform the behests of those consciousnesses; his whole body is adjusted in accordance with those same higher consciousnesses; not, indeed, with them alone, but with an alternative capacity for executing the higher or lower behest, indicative of a responsible being.

We heartily commend Dr. Wythe's book; not only as a class-book for academic instructors, but to all our readers, who either at first study or review, would wish to be led over fields of science by an eloquent guide, through a rich pictorial pathway.

Gilbert Haven: A Monograph. By Rev. E. Wentworth, D.D. Delivered before the Troy Conference, April, 1880, and published at its request. 12mo., pp. 42. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1880.

In Dr. Wentworth Gilbert Haven has a eulogist of kindred genius, quite able to do justice to the subject in the subject's own style. The "Monograph" is perhaps the best of the many tributes that have been paid to the memory of our deceased Bishop. No departed personage of our Church ever received so unani-

mous and loud a volume of eulogy and elegy at his decease. The defects of his character and career are forgotten amid the memories of his brilliancies, and, while we have had little impartial portraiture or biography we have had abundance of panegyric. The reason of this is that, now the career of the Bishop has closed, and closed most beautifully, there is felt the deep impression that, as a whole, his character was unique and heroic. His personal friends, of whom it was our happiness to have been eminently one, remember that genial smile and frankness of manner with which he could say the most tender child-like things, and eke the roughest and most cutting, without a change of expression, as if the cutting things were as kind as the most tender, with a profound interest. We have often wished that our brethren of the Church, South, could have come within the influence of his personality, and felt how truly well-wishing were his severities. We did not feel, as he very well knew, our own views, or the views of the Church, to be truly represented by his positions; but there were occasions when his voice of terrible rebuke upon iniquities in the South sounded like the voice of the prophet. Unlike Dr. Wentworth, we hold his deliverance upon the Chisholm murders as his grandest effort, pronouncing absolute sentences in a position and a power to which there could be no reply. Replied, indeed, it might be by Southern Christians and editors that themselves had no share in those execrable crimes. But they can scarce be acquitted of a submissive silence and quiet sufferance. The true way for the Southern Christian press was to second with all their might the truth and force of Bishop Haven's arraignments of those atrocities. But to the best of our recollection and belief they treated him and his utterances as hostilities, thereby virtually identifying themselves rather with the side of the criminals. That they did share in or approve those crimes we do not believe. There has been reckless and bloody Bourbonism in the South with which we believe them to have no participation or real sympathy. But they are passive and silent and the Bourbonism always has its way. The Southern Christian press ought to have taken sides with Bishop Haven in his severest denunciations against crimes that were dishonoring the South. But, instead of protests against the crimes, we have rather apologies, and condemnation against their arraigner, as if *they* were implicated by his arraignment. Of course the crime thereby becomes indorsed and respectable. We are wicked enough in the North; but the Christian forces of the North are not apologizing

for, but truly arrayed against, that wickedness. We defend nothing because it is north; we attack nothing because it is south. It will be a happy time for the South when her Christian forces shall take a bold stand and compel iniquity to cower before its rebukes. What is truly needed is the union of good men of all sections against the vices of all sections.

But it is sometimes asked by Southern Christian brethren why need we of the North trouble ourselves so much about sins in the South. And a Southern Methodist paper once drew up in eloquent language a catalogue of the rascalities of the North by way of retort. There are ample materials in the North for such catalogues. We confess those northern rascalities, condemn them, and fight against them, with all our might. But there is one vital point which in this mutual play of sectional retort our Southern brother forgets. The sins we complain of are national offenses; offenses against *our rights;* while the sins he retorts are sporadic and individual. Chisholm was murdered because he was a Republican; and so, justly, every Republican (embracing the large body of Northern Protestant Christians) feels himself to be vicariously murdered in Chisholm's person. Chisholm was murdered because he was what we are. We would have been murdered had we been in his place. And the congressmen and Presidents fraudulently or forcibly, and therefore falsely, if such there be, elected, are so elected to rule *over us.* They are criminal usurpers and tramplers upon *our rights.* That is the reason the North troubles herself about these Southern sins.

Politics, Law, and General Morals.

Political and Legal Remedies for War. By Sheldon Amos. Harper & Brothers. 1880.

This work is not one of the philanthropic effusions which appear from time to time, and which always identify war with butchery and vulgar murder. At the same time the author, with all thinking people, recognizes war as a great evil, whose scanty good results might be attained in a better way. He thinks the progress of opinion and of civilization has been steadily toward the peaceful settlement of international difficulties. That it has not gone very far in this direction, however, is pretty clearly shown in the armed condition of Europe. After arguing that the abolition of war is not impossible, the author proceeds to state some of the causes of modern wars, which he finds in the political inequality

of States, in "systems of policy," in "peculiar mutual sensibilities of States," etc. He then treats of political and legal remedies for war, such as intervention, mediation, and arbitration, international congresses, the neutralization of States, etc. Works like the present are useful in giving form to any general sentiment which may exist in favor of settling national difficulties by peaceful means, and to a slight extent they may form public sentiment; but little more is to be expected from them. A great many remedies for war can be suggested; but the difficulty remains to get them adopted. Arbitration by some international congress would put a stop to war, if the parties would submit to it. It needs no insight to see that political economy is in general against all war; but when nations get angry economic reasons do not suffice to keep the peace. The root of unrighteous wars lies deeper than any political causes. "Wars and fightings" still come from "lusts which war in the members." Righteous wars, on the other hand, are the incarnation of justice. If universal peace can be secured by universal justice, it cannot come too soon or be too warmly welcomed. But a universal peace, founded on economic reasons only, and which consists with submission to injustice, is by no means to be desired. Incessant war would be better than such a peace. The chief value of the present work is the large insight which it gives into the history and condition of international law upon the subject.

Judge and Jury. By Benjamin Vaughan Abbott. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

This book is best described in the author's own words as a popular explanation of leading topics in the law of the land. It does not aim to instruct lawyers, nor to enable every man to be his own lawyer, but to give a correct and readable account of the leading aspects and general principles of modern jurisprudence. With this aim the author gives an outline of the government and the courts. He then explains what the law is upon various national subjects, such as citizenship and civil rights, the Indians, the Chinese, banking and commerce, etc. The State laws upon various important topics, such as marriage, divorce, lotteries, cruelty to animals, etc., are then discussed. Finally, laws which bear on every-day life are mentioned. Under this head are given the law of driving and walking, of finding and stealing, of tumble-downs, of gas explosions, of damages resulting from the use of fire-arms and fire-works. Railroad, express, and telegraph

companies are noticed, and the corresponding laws are explained. We have not looked up the author's abundant references to the law books and court decisions; but we know of no reason for distrusting the information given. The work is exceedingly entertaining and instructive. It is not likely to encourage people to go to law, or to become their own lawyers, or to make their own wills. It is seldom that one finds so much information imparted in so pleasant a way.

Periodicals.

The National Repository for September, 1880. Editorial, "Whedon on Curry."

The editor of the Michigan Advocate, quoting the passage of the Discipline enjoining the Agents to publish books "approved by the Book Editors," seems to read it as enjoining the editor to *approve* nothing which does not precisely, in his individual judgment, coincide with the doctrines of our Church. In his view, therefore, Dr. Curry's volume, not being held by the editor as so coinciding, should have been officially excluded from publication, and thereby be suppressed. The editor is, thereby, sole judge of the doctrines of the Church; he is a living "Rule of Faith," and an absolute *Index Expurgatorius*. Now the imposing such an injunction on the editor is precisely what the General Conference has, very wisely, never done. Its wisdom has left his rule of action to his own discretion. What the present editor's rule of action is has been repeatedly stated in our Quarterly. Very uniformly a publication containing, in the editor's opinion, any variance from our established doctrines, especially from a writer of unestablished character in the Church, has been excluded. Sometimes a caveat has been inserted in the book itself. But suppose the writer be a man high in the estimation of the Church as an expositor of her doctrines, repeatedly *indorsed as such by the vote of the General Conference* even after his supposed heretical publication, and chosen as representative man to edit her highest periodicals. Suppose what he offers has already been published, either by himself or others, in our organs; and the said writer has still been reindorsed by the General Conference, and even been made a book editor to judge the orthodoxy of others. Suppose that such is the position of the said writer, and that he maintains that his said publication is truly Methodistic; shall his writings be summarily suppressed by the editor? We do not

believe, evidently the General Conference does not believe, in any such monistic censorial power. We have, therefore, repeatedly and avowedly in such cases allowed the Church to hear and judge for herself, at the same time explicitly taking exceptions in the Quarterly on those points we thought heterodox. We have, then, heretofore added that if the Church, with the whole power of her press at command, cannot right all error, it is absurd to suppose that one sole arbitrator can keep her straight. How little availing such an arbitrator would be is illustrated by the fact that had we done Dr. Curry the indignity of rejecting his book, he could himself have authorized and published it at our Western house.

Is the book editor alone blamable for allowing heresy to go unarrested? Can an Annual Conference pass a heretical member as sound, and then turn round and require the book editor to refuse to pass his work? Can a General Conference elect and re-elect a heretic, and then reprimand the book editor for not rejecting? Or can she pass a heretic Bishop, and then require the editor not to allow his heresy to be read? When all the proper authorities of the Church set their heel on heresy, then may the editor be required to toe the mark.

And these statements may serve to correct the assumptions of the Independent and the Methodist that we have opened a controversy with Dr. Curry, and that we have pronounced him, personally, "a Calvinist." We have done neither. We have, in the routine performance of our official duty, instead of excluding Dr. Curry's book from the press, simply declared our view of the anti-Arminian character of some passages of its contents. What Dr. Curry is, theologically and personally, we have not once pretended to say. What theologically *those certain passages are* we not only say, but, in our own estimation, prove. So far as our notice can be considered as controversy, it was simply a reply; a reply, namely, to a spontaneous attack by Dr. Curry twenty years ago, revived in the present volume. When the Independent, therefore, sees in this properly official notice a controversy opened against the doctor, and advises it to proceed no further, we cheerfully recognize its advice as costing nothing, and think it worth precisely first cost.

To our criticism on the passages in his book Dr. Curry makes reply in the September Repository. 1. He says that he early went through the range of the Methodist and the Arminian literature; that he accorded with the former, but was not quite so Calvinistic

as to accord with some things in the latter. To which we reply that Dr. Curry may be challenged to produce in all that range of literature any passages equivalent in fatalism to those we quoted from his book, but that such passages can be found in high Calvinistic authors alone; being, as they are, the affirmation of the very basis on which Calvinism defends itself. 2. Dr. Curry repeats, what he has formerly declared, that our volume on the Will was to him unsatisfactory. So we should of course expect. Affirming as he does the fundamental maxim of Edwards in defense of Necessity, a polemic against Edwards would scarce more suit his mind than the mind of Edwards himself. 3. Both Dr. Curry and the Methodist affirm that we have introduced our own philosophy into theology, and that the question now at issue is really not a theological but philosophical one. Both these brethren are profoundly mistaken. Free-will in Wesleyan-Arminian theology is, like theism in Christianity, both philosophy and theology identical. From the very first, and through our Church's whole theological and religious history, free-will as opposed to necessity, has been our basis, against Calvinism. That a bound will cannot be responsible, that a man cannot be damned for what he cannot help, free-agency, has been with all our fathers a Methodist fundamental. It is dismaying to see two Methodist Doctors in Divinity displaying their ignorance of so elemental a fact. 4. Dr. Curry declines to explain or defend those passages, and lets judgment go by default. He has for twenty-five years denied being a Calvinist, and complained of being so called; and when some of the passages are produced from which such opinions of his theology have arisen, he *declines to answer.* 5. He appeals to sympathy on the ground that calling a Methodist preacher "Calvinist" (which we have not called him) tends to render him "odious." To which we answer that it would be mounting a pretty high horse for a man to claim that when he prints Calvinism or Pelagianism in our Methodist literature, his prints must not be criticised because it makes one odious to be called a Calvinist or Pelagian. Every writer who professes to teach the Church must, in a manly way, without sympathetic appeals, meet the responsibility of his teachings. 6. Dr. Curry, however, though he does not defend, does retort. Our venerated brother finds in our own writings variations from the Wesleyan-Arminian standards. He simply so *declares;* but furnishes no passages. We furnish proofs without pronouncing upon the man; he pronounces upon the man, but furnishes no proofs. We may reply that we have not been under a chronic

necessity for a quarter of a century to affirm or deny what our theological personality is. We have issued twenty-four volumes of Quarterly, and five volumes of Commentary, and have had no necessity for such personal clearances. We see no such necessity in the present case.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Das Trostschreiben des Apostel's Paulus an die Hebraer, kritisch wiederhergestellt, und sprachlich archaeologisch, und biblisch-theologisch erläutert von Joh. H. R. Biesenthal, Dr. Philos. et Theol. (The Hortation of the Apostle Paul to the Hebrews, critically translated, and philologically, archæologically, and biblico-theologically explained.) 12mo., pp. 363. Leipzig: Verlag von Fernau. 1878.

Dr. Biesenthal is, like Neander, a Hebrew of the Hebrews, yet a devout Christian, and an earnest worker in the cause of religion. As to the volume named above, we are told by a Leipsic correspondent that "no work has issued from the press of Germany for many a day which has been so freely criticised and favorably accepted by eminent theologians of Europe." It has some unique and striking points, which we will note.

First, Dr. B. esteems it a primal error to style Hebrews "an epistle," it being properly, as he entitles it, a hortation. Next, he holds firmly and maintains bravely Paul's authorship of the book. But he believes our present copy to be a translation from Paul's work in a Hebrew original. We hope that his volume may have on this point a powerful influence in abolishing the present puerile fashion, indulged in by even evangelical commentators, of not only selling the Pauline authorship out to the rationalists, but of even making that cowardice a test of scholarship. But the most unique point is that the learned doctor translates the Greek back into the Hebrew, and so furnishes an approximation to what Paul may have written. This would have been presumption were not the Hebrew about as vernacular to the doctor as to the apostle.

Our author maintains firmly and with a large volume of proofs that Paul and no other is the author of Hebrews. The mystery that surrounds the book is simply the result of Paul's necessary attempt at concealment. To evince this he traces in successive chapters the oppressive dealings of the imperial government with all expressions of free thought, the extreme hatred of Judaism and paganism against Christianity, and finally, the special malignity of all against Paul. Hence Paul did not write a letter, with

his own name, to a particular Church, but published an anonymous manifesto, really suitable for converted Gentiles as well as Jews, to console them for the loss of their old temples and rituals, by showing them that they had a far better substitute.

There are two points in behalf of Paul's authorship of Hebrews brought out by Dr. Biesenthal with great beauty. The first is the remarkable fact that Clement of Rome, in the first century, in his Epistle largely quoted the words of Hebrews as highest authority, yet never mentions the author's name. At Rome, then, where this Epistle was long unknown and unacknowledged, there was one man, the personal friend of Paul, who knew it, venerated it, and spread abroad large paragraphs from its pages! Why did he omit the author's name? Dr. B. furnishes the only plausible reply: Clement could not reveal the secret of his friend Paul; the sacred secret of his authorship of Hebrews. And we carry this argument a little further than our learned author. The facts indicate that the Epistle was written by Paul at or near Rome, with the knowledge of a confidential few, whose salutation is given to the confidential receivers of the Epistle in xii, 24, so that Hebrews is not merely a general hortation, but also a *letter*.

The second point is Paul's remarkable use of the apologetic *some*, τινές, in his various epistles. The peculiarity is that where an imputation really lies heavy upon *many*, or a *majority*, or even the *whole* of a body of men, Paul's tenderness understates the fault with an extenuating *some*. The great body of Israel disbelieved; but Paul designates the unbelievers as merely a *some*. Rom. iii, 2. So Rom. iii, 8, the broken of branches were only *some*. And Rom. iii, 8, his blasphemers are merely a *some*. So 1 Cor. vi, 11, the once pagan believers are only *some*. Compare 1 Cor. viii, 7; x, 7, 8, 9, 10; xv, 12; 2 Cor. iii, 1; Gal. i, 7. Now this very peculiarly reappears in Hebrews, at iii, 16; x, 25. And this argument too tends to prove our Hebrews to be Paul's own Greek, and not a translator's.

We do not clearly see that any thing is gained by denying Hebrews to be a *letter* addressed to the mother Church of Judaism. The closing chapter is unmistakably epistolatory. We still think that we have rightly characterized the book in our notes: it begins as an oration, continues as an essay, and ends as a letter. Dr. Biesenthal's notes are very rich with oriental erudition, and we trust our scholars will closely study them with an eye to the question how far they prove the work of a translator of Paul's original Hebrew.

Theologische Ethik. Von Professor Dr. J. Chr. von Hofmann. Nördlingen: C. H. Beck. 1878.

Dr. Hofmann is widely known as a very original and devout scholar, and as the propounder of a very striking view of the atonement. His most extensive work is his "Commentary on the New Testament." The work before us is printed from notes on his lectures on ethics. Though quite brief—350 pages—it contains the very cream of his whole theological system. It is not "moral science" in our sense of the term; but it is a profound Biblico-speculative presentation of the question, What is the nature of the Christian relation of man to God? It is accordingly a thorough discussion, from a single stand-point, of the whole range of primary questions in theology—God, creation, man, sin, heathenism, incarnation, atonement, regeneration, Church, the sacraments, and the Christian state. We subjoin a few disconnected thoughts from Hofmann. Thus: The Protestant theologians of last century blundered when they divorced ethics from dogmatics. The separation was complete in Baumgarten, (1738.) Thenceforth, for a century, ethics was based not upon Christian truth, but upon each successive philosophy of the day. Thus, Baumgarten was dependent upon Wolf; Stäudlin, upon Kant; Marheineke, upon Hegel. The emancipation of ethics from this dependence began in Schwarz, in 1821, by the recognition of the fact that man *as regenerated* is the true subject of ethics. From this point onward dates the new ethics. The great champions of the new science are Schleiermacher, Harless, Rothe, Vilmar, Böhmer, Culmann, Palmer, Wuttke, Martensen, Oettingen, and, on the Catholic side, Hirscher, Werner, Kaulich. Again: The primitive state of man was not that of a mere moral blank, and of a purely formal freedom of will. On the contrary, man found himself at the very opening of self-consciousness under the influence of a positive bent of will. Hence if he had avoided doing violence to himself, he would have persisted in the normal life-drift in which he first found himself. This was not as yet a state of positive, essential freedom; but still it was more than mere formal freedom. It was the germ, the incipiency, of essential freedom. The bent of will in which man found himself at creation included also *love* to the Creator. But it was love at the *stage of instinct.* In regard to *sin*: Satanic sin and human sin are radically different. Satanic sin arose, unsolicited, in the bosom of Satan himself; man's sin had only its secondary origin in man himself. It was not an intended breaking up of his normal relation to God. It was not a conscious and direct casting off of God. It was only indirectly so. And

as man did not absolutely cast off God *by* his sin, so God did not absolutely cast off man *for* his sin. But what *is* sin? It is any action or feeling of a created spirit which is not a virtualization of communion with God. Satan and man feel evil in very different manners. Satan feels it merely as a barrier to his hatred to God. Man, so long as redeemable, feels it *as evil*, as the fruits of sin; and he *can* wish to eschew it and turn from it. In regard to *conscience:* Satanic beings have no conscience: it has become *extinct* in them. In man conscience is a vital bond between the soul and God. Conscience is not an instructor: it is a judge. It does not teach us *what* we ought to do: it simply judges and sentences us in *regard to* what we *do*. A so-called erring conscience is simply man's mistaking inferences in regard to his duties. The true idea of the ethical life is that it is a virtualization of the relation of man to God, as established by Christ. All of the heresies sprang from perverting this relation. Ebionism destroyed the freedom of this relation, and re-introduced the bondage of legalism. Montanism invented hyper-Christian precepts and made them equivalent to a new revelation, thus imposing on Christian freedom impracticable demands. Gnosticism debased man's relation to God from a spiritual to a merely psychic or physical character. Manichaeism reduced it still lower—to a gross material one. Pelagianism reduced the ethical life to a purely self-generated one, thus making Christ superfluous. Predestinationism shut out the subject from all participation in his own ethical life, thus robbing the ethical requirements of the Bible of all rational significance. All these heresies the healthy instinct of orthodoxy has at once recognized as such. What is the relative position which *prayer* holds in the ethical life? and what is its true place in the organism of an ethical system? Daub places it last. Hirscher (the Catholic) places it first. Either is better than when Von Oettingen can find no proper place for it at all, but only gives it casual mention. And it is almost as bad when Rothe makes of it simply a *means* of virtue. But also Harless treats it in the same manner as Rothe. This is not the place which belongs to prayer. Wuttke describes prayer as embracing our entire ethical action toward God, so that it underlies our whole Christian ethical life; and with this view we (Hofmann) fully coincide. Among the eccentricities of Hofmann we cite simply this one: The relations of the persons of the holy Trinity to the Christian are such that we may and do pray either to the whole trinity as one God, or to the Father specifically, as also to Christ, but not to the Holy Ghost. To the latter we pray only as embraced in the collective Trinity.

Erinnerungen an Amalie von LASAULX, SCHWESTER AUGUSTINE, Oberin der Barmherzigen Schwestern am St. Johannis Hospital zu Bonn, Gotha: Perthes, 1878.

One of the most curious works sprung of the Old Catholic agitation. The scene lies just after the Vatican Council. It is the story of a noble *woman*, who, after a life of devoted service to the Romish Church, would *not* bow to the new decree of infallibility. And the woman was noble in all senses of the word. The favorite daughter of an aristocratic and gifted family of Southern Germany, the sight of the sufferings of the lower ranks of society led her to devote all her energies to the work of consolation and alleviation. While caring for the sick and dying in the hospital at Coblenz, she felt the need of being able to administer to them also spiritual consolation. This led to her own spiritual regeneration as a preparation thereto. Her life fills the space from 1815 to 1872. From her entrance into the cloister, in 1840, to the end, the story of her life is that of uninterrupted love to the bodies and souls of men. And for many years she was "mother superior," and thus she was enabled to infuse her own spirit into the labors of a numerous body of subordinates. Her high social position brought her into close relations to eminent artists, poets, and statesmen; while her deep piety and devotion to the Church made her the intimate friend of a whole generation of bishops, archbishops and other high prelates. Her life would then have been far from an ordinary one even had she lived on quietly in submission to her spiritual superiors, and departed in the odor of sanctity. But it receives an additional and almost tragic interest from the heroism with which she persistently refused to belie herself by submission to the new dogma of Papal infallibility. Rarely have we read more thrilling pages than the long closing chapter in which are reported the many, the persistent, the incessant endeavors of gifted priests and bishops to persuade her to at least passive acquiescence in the new decree. She would not, and did not, yield. And for this she was stripped, in her old age, of the garb of her order; and on her dying bed was refused the consolation of the sacraments; and, when dead, was denied a resting place in consecrated ground. The book of 372 large pages is deserving of a wide reading.

Erklärung der Glaubensartikel und Hauptlehren der Methodistenkirche. Von Dr. A. SULZBERGER. Bremen: C. H. Doering.

Dr. Sulzberger is not a new name to either German or American Methodism. His "Systematic Theology" has already taken its place of honor in our literature, and is now in the course of

study for our German preachers on both sides of the Atlantic. The present work is a very successful attempt to state and prove our articles of faith. It is not a catechism, but a brief treatment of our doctrinal basis. He unfurls the Methodist flag to the German critics without any hesitation. So he begins his work by giving a summary of the history of Methodism, and then proceeds to the treatment of our articles of faith. After a general statement of the doctrines, which our Church accepts in common with all evangelical Churches, he proceeds to prove the absurdity of purgatory and other discarded tenets, and closes with a strong defense of those doctrines which distinguish our Church from some other Protestant confessions, namely, the universal atonement, the new birth, the certainty of our acceptance with God, the witness of the Spirit, and Christain perfection. We rejoice at the appearance of this little work of two hundred pages. It will do vast good to our German and Swiss Church. Dr. Sulzberger excels in his power of definition and statement, and nowhere has he given better evidence of this rare quality than here.

Miscellaneous.

My College Days. By ROBERT TOMES. 16mo., pp. 211. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Mr. Tomes is a gentleman of sharp eye and nimble tongue. He draws portraits of folks which the same folks would not like to see. We do not say that he is a satirist; but he selects points in his victims' characters, the clear merry telling of which is very keen satire. He was pupil in Columbia Grammar School, and what an exhibit have we of Professor Anthon! He goes to Washington College, (now Trinity,) Hartford, and what a set of unanimous shams, college professors, real and titular, were not the whole lot! He goes to the Philadelphia Medical College, and finds that Professor Hare plays pyrotechnics, but imparts little chemistry to his class, and Gibson, the anatomist, is delighted to be "up to his elbows in blood." He goes to Edinburgh, and the real greatness of the men there is too real to allow any satire in truth-telling. On the whole, the book is more readable than commendable.

Biography of Rev. Leonidas L. Hamline, D.D., late one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By Rev. F. G. HIBBARD, D.D. 12mo., pp. 477. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1880.

We expect a full Review article on this work.

Greek Mythology Systematized. By S. A. Scull. 12mo., pp. 397. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

This volume was prepared by the lady author as a book for pupils under her care, and is admirably adapted for its purposes. It is not a mere reproduction of old school manuals, but is written with independent thought and consultation of latest authorities.

Last Words and Old-Time Memories. Original and Compiled from the Most Authentic Records. By Rev. Maxwell Pierson Gaddis, Sen. With an Introduction by Bishop Randolph S. Foster, D.D., L.L.D. 12mo., pp. 430. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1880.

A series of brief biographies in alphabetic order of Methodist ministers, with especially their dying words. It is a dictionary of final triumphant testimonies from the hands of a venerated father.

The Student's Shakspeare. Thirty-seven Plays, Analyzed and Topically Arranged for the use of Clergymen, Lawyers, Students, etc. By Henry J. Fox, D.D. 8vo., pp. 625. Boston: B. A. Fowler & Co. 1880.

Dr. Fox is a reveler in the best literature of our English language, and here brings us a choice specimen of his labors in that surpassingly rich field. It is a labor of love, and we doubt not thousands will accept his work with rich appreciation. It comes recommended by such master critics as Hudson and Parton, the latter of whom declares that "as a book of extracts, its equal cannot be found in any language."

The Expositor, August, 1880. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 27 Paternoster Row. Edited by Rev. Samuel Cox. 1. The Outer and the Inner Glory, (Psalm xix;) by Rev. George Matheson, D.D. 2. New Testament Words Denoting "Care:" by Professor John Massie, M.A. 3. The Value of the Patristic Writings for the Criticism and Exegesis of the Bible; by Rev. W. Sanday, D.D. 4. The Book of Job.—VIII. The Theophany. First Divine Remonstrance; by the Editor.

September. 1. Wresting the Scriptures; by Rev. Canon Farrar, D.D., F.R.S. 2. The Book of Job.—VIII. The Theophany. Second Divine Remonstrance; by the Editor. 3. The Value of the Patristic Writings for the Criticism and Exegesis of the Bible; by Rev. W. Sanday, D.D. 4. Biblical Note on St. John iii, 8; by Rev. Charles Ingham Black, B.A.

History of the Administration of John De Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland. By James Geddes. Vol. I, 1623–54. 8vo., pp. 398. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

The Library Key: An Index of General Reading, Arranged by F. A. Archibald, A.M., with an Introduction by Rev. W. W. Case. Small 8vo., pp. 202. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1880.

George Bailey. A Tale of New York Mercantile Life. By Oliver Oldroy. 16mo., pp. 288. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Elements of Permanency in our National Institutions. An Address delivered before the Alumni of Hamilton College, at the Stone Church in Clinton, New York, on Wednesday Evening, June 23, 1880; by Theodore W. Dwight, Professor of Law in Columbia College Law School, New York. Published by Request of the Alumni. New York: Trow's Printing and Bookbinding Co. 1880.

THE STANDARD SERIES. Under title of Standard Series Mr. Funk is issuing in quarto form and paper covering a series of standard literature, furnishing works of high value at prices amazingly cheap. Such are the following:

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INDEX.

Abbott, Judge and Jury..... Page 735
Advent of Christ, The..... 378
Africa, Echoes from..... 88
The colored Exodus from the South..... 88
Opinions concerning the colored race..... 90
Work of American Missionary Association..... 95
Protest against use of certain phrases..... 97
Liberia, its extent and trade..... 103
Importance of colonization in Africa..... 105
Africa, Equatorial..... 232
Long, and his work on Central Africa..... 233
Comparison of writings of Speke, Long, and Stanley..... 235
Stanley's enthusiasm and explorations..... 240
His opinion of Miesa's influence..... 244
Cameron's expedition..... 248
Conflicts with Cannibals, sufferings, etc.. 251
Alzog's Church History..... 504
Truest church history must be sought outside of the Catholic communion..... 508
Early church historians..... 509
Scope and value of Alzog's History..... 511
His treatment of a celibate priesthood..... 516
His treatment of the Inquisition..... 523
The Reformation under Luther..... 530
American Antiquarian..... 833
American Bookseller for Christmas, The..... 203
American Cath. Quarterly Review, 167, 353, 780
Amos, Political and Legal Remedies for War..... 784
Anderson: An English Version of the Younger, or Prose Edda..... 390
Andrea: Ursprung und erste Entwickelung der Kirche Christi in Vortrügen über die Apostelgeschichte des Lucas..... 403
Archibald: The Library Key..... 795
Armitage: The Wesleyan Mission in New Zealand..... 338
Atonement in Christ, The..... 184
Austin: Popular Series: A Series of Sermons Against the Sins of the Times .. 604
Australians, Susceptibility to Education... 731
Ayres: Life and Work of Wm. Augustus Mühlenberg..... 598

Badley: The Great Epic of India..... 111
Bagehot: Literary Studies..... 198
Baird: History of the Rise of the Huguenots of France..... 197
Baptist Review..... 160, 563
Basle Session of the Evangelical Alliance. 257
The Alliance, Origin of..... 257
Doctrinal basis of..... 258
General sessions—dates and places..... 258
Religious condition of the various countries 261
Christian defense against skeptical attacks. 269
Education—Influence of the press..... 270
Persecution of Protestants in Bohemia... 271
Communion service and leave-taking..... 274
Personal appearance and characteristics of some of the leading members..... 276
Bayne: Lessons from my Masters: Carlyle, Tennyson, and Ruskin..... 203
Benjamin: Art in America..... 205
Bennett: Alzog's Church History..... 504
Berean Beginner's Book, The..... 202
Berean Question Book, The..... 202
Berthiaz: A Transposition in the Gospel of John..... 371
Biart: An Involuntary Voyage..... 203
Bibliotheca Sacra..... 160, 353, 563, 720
Biesenthal: Das Trostschreiben des Apostel's Paulus an die Hebraer, etc.... Page 789
Black: White Wings..... 796
Blackburn: History of the Christian Church from its Origin to the Present Time... 193
Blackmore: Mary Anerley..... 796
Bloomfield: Glenwood..... 203
Blossom Books, The..... 202
Blyden: Echoes from Africa..... 88
Blyden's Writings, Concerning..... 202
Bowen: Malthusianism, Darwinism, and Pessimism..... 161
Bowne: The Ethics of Evolution..... 430
Boys' Pocket Library..... 202, 203
Brainerd: Life of Rev. Thos. Brainerd, D.D. 195
Bréger: The Religious Policy of Constantine the Great..... 733
British and Foreign Evangelical Review... 168, 360, 565, 747
British Quarterly Review.....168, 360, 564, 751
Buckley: The Itinerant Ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church... ...134, 316
Bushnell, Horace, Life and Letters of..... 596

Canadian Element in the United States.... 167
Catholic World, The..... 735
Channing: Life of William Ellery Channing 599
Chaplain: Miley on the Atonement..... 608
Chautauqua Text Books, The..... 403
Church Extension Annual, etc..... 400
Church Law, Administration of..... 605
Comprehensiveness of the book, "Ecclesiastical Law," etc..... 606
The law of evidence..... 607
Disciplinary method of Church trials.... 608
Relation of preacher to Church trials... 611
Interested parties as witnesses..... 612
Evidence, presumptive or circumstantial. 619
Civil Service in Great Britain..... 331
Communism and Socialism, etc..... 386
Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism.. 196
Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years, as Seen in its Literature.. 773
Constantine the Great, Religious Policy of. 733
Cotemporary Review..... 354
Cooksey: Fifty Bible Reasons for Continuing a Methodist, Stated, Proved, and Illustrated..... 403
Coxe: The Daily Round..... 798
Cumberland Presbyterian Quarterly....353, 563
Curry: Fragments, Religious and Theological..... 577
Curry: Platform Papers..... 577
Curry, Writings of..... 577, 786

Daniels: Illustrated History of Methodism in Great Britain and America, from the Days of the Wesleys to the Present Time..... 305
Davies: A Compendious and Complete Hebrew Lexicon to the Old Testament, with an English-Hebrew Index..... 186
Davis: The Theory of Thought..... 599
Dawson: Fossil Men and their Modern Representatives..... 748
Dean: Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire..... 796
De Mortillet, on Early Traces of Man..... 200
Desilber: Afternoons with the Poets..... 203
Dexter: Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years, as Seen in its Literature..... 773

District Conferences.....Page 279
Conference optional in its organization... 281
The principle in different Churches..... 281
History of its introduction..... 283
Disciplinary plan stated..... 290
Oppositions to conference considered..... 292
Efforts for modification of the plan..... 294
Utility of District Conferences..... 297
Doctrine of Man, The..... 382
Du Moncel: The Telephone, the Microphone, and the Phonograph..... 203
Dwight: Elements of Permanency in Our National Institutions..... 795

Early Traces of Man..... 200
Eaton: Civil Service in Great Britain..... 391
Echoes from Africa..... 88
Ecumenical Methodism..... 667
Action of General Conference of 1876.... 668
Preparatory meeting of ecumenical representatives at Cincinnati..... 670
Extracts from address of British Wesleyan Conference and Irish Methodist Church..... 672
Extracts from speeches of Rev. William Arthur and Dr. Haygood..... 673
Utility of an ecumenical conference..... 677
Edinburgh Review.....168, 360, 565, 747
Editorial Note..... 204
Education by the State be Exclusively Secular? Shall..... 299
Ends sought in our system of common school education..... 299
Complete secularization of public instruction unphilosophical..... 301
Moral welfare of the nation demands education..... 304
Moral training the work of the State..... 307
Theory of pure secularism in education revolutionary..... 311
Shall the State become unqualifiedly atheistic?..... 312
Egyptian and Mosaic Records, A Harmony of the..... 709
Chronological contradictions among Egyptologists..... 710
The earliest inscribed monuments..... 711
Era of Abraham..... 712
Era of Israel's sojourn..... 713
Era of Joseph..... 716
Era of Israel's Egyptian bondage..... 721
Pharaoh's daughter..... 724
Era of the Exodus..... 727
Electricity in its Relations to Medicine and Surgery..... 191
Emotions, The..... 388
Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII., The Recent..... 167
English Men of Letters:
Bunyan, Cowper, Pope..... 604
Burke, Milton..... 203
Byron..... 796
Hawthorne, Southey..... 404
Epic of India, The Great..... 111
The poem described..... 111
The revisions..... 113
Historic outlines..... 114
The popular version..... 129
Equatorial Africa..... 232
Erinnerungen an Amalie Von Lasaulx Schwester Augustine, etc..... 793
Ethics of Sincerity..... 625
Evolution, Ethics of, The..... 430
Materialism defined..... 430
Spencer a materialist..... 432
Relation of neurosis and psychosis..... 436
Mental states produce no physical changes. 439
Argument with Spencerians..... 442
Specific features of Spencer's Ethics..... 445
Defects of his theory..... 449

Exodus, The.....Page 601
Expositor, The.....404, 604, 795

Fairbairn: The Typology of Scripture..... 883
Faith and Character..... 381
Farrar: The Life and Work of St. Paul..... 791
Ford: Studies on the Baptismal Question.. 384
Foreign Literary Intelligence.....178, 576, 764
France..... 765
Germany.....178, 764
Foreign Religious Intelligence.175, 374, 572, 759
Christianity in India..... 759
Mohammedanism and Christianity in Turkey and the New Balkan States.... 374
Parsees, The..... 572
Protestant Churches of Germany, The... 175
Fossil Men and their Modern Representatives 748
Fox: The Student's Shakspeare..... 795
France, Unsectarian Schools in..... 571
Franklin Square Library.....204, 404, 604, 796
Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, Report of..... 401
French Protestantism and Evangelical Missions..... 171
French Reformed Church, Its Synod of 1872, and Subsequent Events, The..... 455
The debates and conclusions of the Synod. 455
The subsequent attitude of the two parties in the Church..... 467
Recent status of French Protestantism in the work of education and evangelization 475
Prospects of Protestantism in France.... 485

Gaddis: Last Words and Old-Time Memories..... 795
Garrison, William Lloyd, and His Times... 390
Geddes: History of the Administration of John De Witt..... 795
George: Ecumenical Methodism..... 667
German Principia, The..... 204
Gibbon: The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (Two books) 603, 796
Godet: Studies in the New Testament..... 180
Goodwin: The Mode of Man's Immortality. 203
Granberry: The Ethics of Sincerity..... 625
Gray: Natural Science and Religion..... 384
Greece of To-day, The..... 681
Athens, its objects of interest..... 687
Signs of national resuscitation..... 692
Manufactories—government—education.. 693
Religion..... 694
Green: History of the English People, Vol. IV..... 796
Green: Readings from English History.... 204

Harman's Introduction..... 72
Great value of the book..... 74
Range of the work..... 76
The canon of the Hebrew Scriptures considered..... 77
Jewish testimony..... 78
Cumulative internal evidence from the various Scripture books..... 79
Genuineness of the Scripture books..... 80
Objections answered..... 83
Harper's Greek and Latin Texts..... 204
Harper's Half-Hour Series.....204, 604
Harper's Latin Dictionary..... 733
Origin of the term "Dictionary"..... 734
Early history of lexicography..... 735
History of Latin dictionaries..... 741
Comparative value of leading modern Latin dictionaries..... 753
Haupt: The First Epistle of John..... 777
Haven, Gilbert..... 782
Hays: The Princess Idleways..... 204
Hebrew Lexicon to the Old Testament, with an English-Hebrew Index..... 186
Hecker: Catholic Church in United States. 404

Henry and Harris: Ecclesiastical Law and Rules of Evidence, with Special Reference to the Jurisprudence of the Methodist Episcopal Church..... Pages 389, 605
Hibbard: Biography of Bishop Hamline... 794
Hilgenfeld on The Gnostic Valentinus and his Writings..... 567
Hillebrand: The Eighteenth Century..... 254
History of the Christian Church, etc..... 196
History of England from the Accession of James the Second..... 194
Hofmann: Theologische Ethik..... 791
Holtzmann: St. James the Just and his Namesakes..... 869
Holy Bible, The, According to the Authorized Version..... 404
Hume: The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the Revolution in 1688..... 196
Hunt: Philosophy of Methodism..... 404
Hurst: Christian Union Necessary for Religious Progress and Defense..... 401
Hurst: The Basle Session of the Evangelical Alliance..... 257
Hymn Book, The Old, Notes to Editor in regard to..... 157

Ignatius and His Epistles..... 31
Personal history and characteristics..... 31
Epistles..... 35
Epistle to the Romans..... 36
Genuineness of the Ignatian literature.... 39
The teaching of the Epistles..... 43
Illustrated Catholic Family Annual for 1880. 203
"Independent," The "New Orthodoxy."... 142
Indian Evangelical Review..... 141
Influence of Stoicism upon the Earliest Formation of Christian Doctrines..... 756
Isaiah's Vision of the Cross..... 45
Rhythmic version of Isaiah lii, 13; liii, 12. 46
Critical notes..... 46
Exposition..... 54
Disquisition..... 65
Israel, True Story of Exodus of..... 779
Itinerant Ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church..... 181, 316
Origin and growth of the itinerant system. 131
Peculiar advantages of the itinerancy.... 136
An experience meeting..... 137
Evils incident to the system..... 144
Proposals to remove the limitation..... 147
A possible amendment..... 155
Method of final adjustment of appointments in the Methodist Episcopal Church..... 817
Re-examination of the reasoning of former article..... 320
History of the adoption of the two years' rule in the words of its mover..... 333
A possible amendment..... 335

Jacobi, F. H..... 486
Early history..... 487
His writings..... 488
His doctrines..... 491
His claim to recognition among philosophers..... 495
John, A Transposition in the Gospel of.... 871
Johnson: Garrison and His Times..... 390
Judge and Jury..... 785

Kincaid: District Conferences..... 279
King: The Exotist..... 204
Knox: The Boy Travelers in the Far East. 203
Kopp: Die Deutsche-Amerikanische Kanzel. 504
Kraus: Roma Sotterranea, Die Römischen Katakomben..... 401

Lacroix: Wesleyan Synergism an Essential of Orthodox Catholicity..... 5
Laidlaw: The Doctrine of Man..... Page 382
Lanahan and Book Concern Troubles..... 204
Latimer: The Three Brothers..... 404
Latin Dictionary, A New..... 197
Latrobe: Liberia..... 601
Leslie: Cecily—Conrad—Margaret-the 203
Lesson Commentary of the International Sunday-School Lessons for 1880..... 202
Liberia..... 601
Lindsay on "Mind in the Lower Animals." 731
Litch: Christ Yet to Come..... 796
Literary Studies..... 198
Local Preachers, National Association of .. 400
Logic of Christian Evidences, The..... 394
London Quarterly Review (London)...168, 361, 565, 747
London Quarterly Review (New York)....168, 361, 565, 747
Lowrey: The Greece of To-day..... 681
Luke and Josephus..... 170
Lutheran Quarterly..... 160, 353

Macaulay: History of England from the Accession of James the Second..... 194
Macdonald: Life and Writings of St. John. 778
Mahaffy: History of Classical Greek Literature..... 604
Malthusianism, Darwinism, and Pessimism. 161
Marshall, C. K.: The Exodus..... 601
Marshall, J. W.: Harper's Latin Dictionary 583
M'Carthy: A History of Our Own Times... 403
M'Cosh: The Emotions..... 388
Metaphysics of Science, The..... 387
Methodist Year-Book for 1880..... 203
Meyer: Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament..... 694
Miley on the Atonement..... 698
The book needed..... 699
The fact of atonement admitted..... 700
True theory of the atonement..... 702
Phenomena of atonement..... 704
Miley: The Atonement in Christ..... 184
Miller: Plain Talk to the Sick..... 204
Minutes of the Annual Conferences, etc.... 404
Monrad: The World of Prayer..... 103
Motley: History of the United Netherlands. 197
Motley: Life and Death of John of Barneveld, etc..... 197
Motley: Rise of the Dutch Republic..... 194
Muhlenberg, Life and Work of..... 598
Murphy: Sporting Adventures in the Far West..... 404

Nagler: The Advent of Christ..... 878
National Association of Local Preachers.... 400
National Quarterly Review..... 746
National Repository..... 604, 786
Neolithic Implements Found in Gravel Beds in California..... 745
New Englander..... 160, 553, 730
New England Historical and Genealogical Register..... 553, 730
New Testament an Organic Book, The.... 751
Newton: The Interpreter's House..... 403
Nicolas: Chapters from the Physical History of the Earth..... 395
North American Review..... 161, 354, 730

Oldboy: George Bailey..... 795
Oriental and Biblical Journal..... 561, 744
Otheman: The French Reformed Church, etc..... 435

Palestine, The Regeneration of..... 646
Palestine a land of ruins..... 646
Conditions of the country..... 648
Efforts toward improvement..... 6 6
Colonies established, and results..... 659
Imports and Exports..... 662

Payne: Shall Education by the State be Exclusively Secular?.....Page 209
Perry: St. Hugh of Avalon..... 361
Phinney: Letters on the Eucharist..... 775
Pierce: Character and Work of a Gospel Minister..... 604
Pilcher: Protestantism in Michigan..... 195
Popular Science Monthly, The..... 200
Pressensé on Literary Productions of M. Zola..... 174
Princeton Review.....564, 730

Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.....360, 564, 730

Reformed Episcopal Church, The..... 735
Reid: Bishop Wiley's Visitation of China and Japan..... 405
Reid: Missions and Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church..... 393
Renouf: Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religion of Ancient Egypt..... 589
Revue Chrétienne.....171, 373, 571
Reynolds: Administration of Church Law.. 605
Rockwell: Lectures on Electricity in its Relations to Medicine and Surgery..... 191

Sanskrit Grammar, A..... 395
Sawyer: F. H. Jacobi..... 486
Science of Life, The..... 781
Scott: The Science of Logic..... 596
Scull: Greek Mythology Systematized..... 795
Senior Lesson Book, The..... 202
Shakspeare's Comedy of the Winter's Tale.. 204
Shakspeare's Tragedy of King Richard the Third..... 604
Shakspeare, The Student's..... 795
Short: The North Americans of Antiquity. 186
Sims: Life of Rev. Thomas M. Eddy, D.D. 203
Sincerity, Ethics of..... 625
Reason and conscience as guides..... 627
Does sincerity justify?..... 631
Sincerity defined..... 633
Lack of sincerity—how shown..... 635
Responsibility for belief..... 640
Saul the Pharisee and Paul the Christian. 641
Smalley: Analysis and Formation of Latin Words..... 204
Stähelin on the History of the Swiss Reformation..... 367
Standard Series, The..... 796
Stevens: Glorious Return of the Vaudois.. 205
St. Hugh of Avalon..... 361
Stickney: A True Republic..... 203
Studies in the New Testament..... 180
Sulzberger: Erklärung der Glaubensartikel und Hauptlehren der Methodistenkirche..... 793
Sunday, 1850, Pictures and Pages for Old and Young..... 796
Swett: Methods of Teaching..... 796
Swinton: Masterpieces of English Literature..... 604
Symington: Thomas Moore, the Poet, etc.. 796
Symonds: Sketches and Studies in Southern Europe..... 604
Symonds: Studies of the Greek Poets..... 404

Taneyhill: The Young Folks of Ironfrew... 203
Tennyson, Songs from the Published Writings of, Set to Music, etc..... 403
Terry: Isaiah's Vision of the Cross..... 45
Theologische Studien und Kritiken. 169, 371, 756
Theory of Thought, The..... 592
Third Gospel, Origin of the.....169, 170
Thwing: Ignatius and his Epistles..... 31
Todd: Harman's Introduction..... 72
Tomes: My College Days.....Page 794
Trumbull: A Model Superintendent..... 604

Uhlhorn, On Preparatory Studies for a History of Christian Charity in the Middle Ages..... 565
Uhlhorn: The Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism..... 196
Underwood: The True Story of the Exodus of Israel..... 779
Universalist Quarterly, The..... 742

Vaudois: The Glorious Return of the..... 205
Allusions to the early history..... 206
Revocation of the Edict of Nantes..... 207
Persecution of Protestants..... 208
March of the Vaudois, privations, battles. 213
"Day of consolation"—first public worship..... 221
Fighting against great numbers..... 223
Overtures to the Vaudois.....225, 227
Victory and liberty..... 230
Vincent: Faith and Character..... 381

Wadstein: Influence of Stoicism Upon the Earliest Formation of Christian Doctrines..... 756
Walker, A. D.: Mordecai's Tenants..... 208
Walker, J. B.: The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit..... 776
Walter: Perception of Space and Matter... 594
Warting: Tyrol and the Skirt of the Alps.. 204
Wells: The Regeneration of Palestine..... 646
Wentworth: Equatorial Africa..... 202
Wentworth: Gilbert Haven..... 782
Wesley and the Methodist Movement..... 354
Wesleyan Mission in New Zealand, The... 808
Early difficulties..... 339
Historic notes..... 343
Testimonies from impartial sources..... 347
Great success of missionary work..... 348
Causes of later disaffection..... 348
Wesleyan Synergism an Essential of Orthodox Catholicity..... 5
Synergism defined. Doctrine of the primitive Church..... 7
Testimony of the Greek Fathers..... 9
Of Greek theologians of the Middle Ages. 13
Of the Catholic Eastern Church..... 14
Views of the Latin Church..... 15
Views of the Protestant Reformers..... 20
West African Reporter, The..... 202
Westminster Review.....168, 360, 565, 747
Whedon: Commentary on the New Testament..... 382
"Whedon on Curry."..... 786
Whitney: A Sanskrit Grammar..... 395
Wiley's (Bishop) Visitation of China and Japan..... 405
His book on China and Japan..... 406
Outline of his visits in China..... 406
His description of Buddhism..... 426
Introduction of Christianity into China... 427
Historic summary..... 428
Japan..... 430
Winchell: Pre-Adamites..... 766
Winchell: "The Metaphysics of Science."... 387
Woolsey: Communism and Socialism in Their History and Theory..... 386
Wright: Logic of Christian Evidence..... 594
Wythe: The Science of Life..... 781

Yonge: Young Folks' History of Rome.... 203

Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte...367, 565, 755
Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie.....170, 369, 567
Zola, Literary Productions of..... 174

4933 6